ROGER WOLCOTT

BY WILLIAM LAWRENCE

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Roger Wolcott

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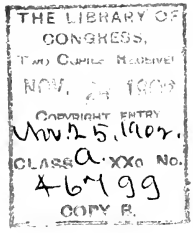

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Published November, 1902

TO

EDITH PRESCOTT WOLCOTT

WISE STRONG AND GRACIOUS

THE CONSTANT SUPPORT

OF HER HUSBAND

ROGER WOLCOTT

PREFACE

IN writing this short Life my object has been to bring before the people of Massachusetts, whom he loved and who loved him, the personality of Roger Wolcott. Mr. Wolcott's life was passed in the midst of his friends, associates, and relatives. He therefore had no need, as he had little taste, to correspond by letter. He kept no diary or journal. The materials for this little book were gathered from official records and newspaper reports, from the memories of my own friendship of over forty years, and from the reminiscences and kind suggestions of others of his friends, political associates, and kindred.

W. L.

CAMBRIDGE, October 16, 1902.

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ROGER WOLCOTT

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY

WHEN the good ship Mary and John dropped anchor in Boston harbor on the 30th of May, 1630, she had in her company Henry Wolcott, Esq., his wife and sons, of Galdon Manor House, Tolland, Somersetshire. Very few of his Puritan brethren had left their homes at greater sacrifice than he. Henry Wolcott was a country gentleman, accustomed to the surroundings, dignity, and authority of his class. His home was endeared to him by its family associations, its age, and solid

comfort. Even to this day Tolland suggests to the visitor something of its ancient glory. As one enters the hamlet, he passes the ivy-mantled church; beneath the shadow of the heavy tower rest the bodies of the Wolcotts. Beyond is the manor house, an ancient pile of stone, massive without; within, the walls are ornamented with antique carvings. The ceiling of the spacious dining-hall is heavily groined; above the mantelpiece are shields bearing the family coats of arms; and along the walls run Latin inscriptions, of which one translated reads, "This is the family of the just; may this spot be preserved to all eternity."

Henry Wolcott, whose family had been loyal members of the Church of England, had been drawn into sympathy with the Puritans. His convictions finally led him to join with his brethren in the upbuilding of

a colony where he and they could worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Being over fifty years of age, he had but little taste for change and adventure, and the bonds of old associations must have drawn hard upon him. Nevertheless, he and his family left their ancient home, and on the 20th of March sailed for Boston. After a voyage of seventy days they entered the harbor. As they looked from the deck upon the roughly timbered shores and the wooden houses of the town, they must have recalled with a pang of homesickness the quiet vale and rich fields of Tolland.

Mr. Wolcott first settled in Dorchester; later he removed with Mr. Wareham's church to Windsor, Conn., and there made his home and became a "chief corner-stone." In the first general assembly held in Connecticut in 1637 he was

made a member of the lower house, and in 1643 was elected a member of the house of magistrates, and was annually elected thereto until his death.

Henry Wolcott's son, Simon, was in 1673 captain of the Simsbury Traine Band, and in 1678 one of the "Townsmen" or selectmen of Simsbury. He married Martha, a sister of Governor Pitkin of Connecticut, and in 1679 Roger Wolcott was born. After his marriage with Sarah Drake, whose family came from Plymouth, England, counting among its members the famous admiral, Sir Francis, Roger Wolcott entered upon a life of public service. He first filled the offices of selectman, representative to the general assembly, and justice of the peace. In the expedition against Canada in 1711 he was commissary of the Connecticut stores. Step by step he rose to be a member of the coun-

cil, a judge of the county court, a judge of the superior court, then deputy governor, and chief justice of the superior court. With the rank of major-general he was second to Sir William Pepperell in command of the expedition to Cape Breton, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg. In 1750 and for four successive years he was governor of the colony. In 1754 he retired from public life and devoted his leisure to literature and "to the reading of the Scriptures, meditation, and prayer."

In his funeral sermon upon Governor Roger Wolcott a century and a half ago Parson Perry struck a prophetic note in his analysis of his character: —

"At the head of the government Roger Wolcott was a wise and an able governor; at the head of an army a general true to his king and country; on the bench a just

and upright judge; and at the bar an able lawyer. In his own person he was frugal, chaste, and temperate. View him at the head of his family, he was a kind husband and a good father and a compassionate master. He was a steady professor of the Christian name, a constant and devout attendant upon public worship and holy ordinances. He was able to make a good figure in conversation, among the learned, upon almost any subject, and had a good acquaintance both with men and things. He was very easy of access; no forbidding air sat upon his countenance; free, affable, and unaffected in conversation, he had a peculiar talent in making himself agreeable to all sorts of company, so far as innocency would permit."

It fell to Oliver, son of Roger Wolcott, to represent the family in the critical events preceding the Revolution and dur-

ing the early years of that war. Like his father, he was soldier, lawyer, and jurist, and held high office. In early manhood he commanded a company of volunteers in the northern army in the war against the French. Upon the organization of the county of Litchfield in 1751 he was appointed the first sheriff. He was a representative to the general assembly, a member of the council, judge of the court of probate for the district of Litchfield, and chief judge of the court of common pleas. He was a member of the continental congress, with the exception of two years, from 1775 to 1784; and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Loyalty to his country called him a second time into military service. Upon the breaking out of the war of the Revolution Congress appointed him a commis-

sioner on Indian affairs for the northern department. In his spirit of patriotism he, as is seen by the following incident, was well supported by his family. Until the eve of the Revolution a leaden equestrian statue of George III. had stood in Bowling Green in the city of New York. As soon as hostilities began the Sons of Liberty overthrew the statue, and the body of the hapless king was transported to the home of Mr. Wolcott, at Litchfield, where it was melted into bullets by his children and their friends.

In 1777 Oliver Wolcott was appointed a brigadier-general, and in 1779 he was commissioned by General Trumbull major-general of the militia of Connecticut. He was lieutenant-governor of Connecticut from 1786 to 1796, and governor in 1797, the year of his death.

These offices show the esteem in which

General Wolcott was held by the country as well as the State. Indeed, no other man in Connecticut during this critical period discharged so many and varied public duties as he.

Oliver Wolcott gave to the public service two sons. The first, Oliver, served in Congress and in the army. In 1789 he received from President Washington the appointment of auditor of the treasury. Two years later he was made comptroller, and in 1795 he succeeded Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury, and thus became a member of Washington's cabinet. Here he continued during the administration of President Adams, resigning in 1800 and accepting a seat upon the United States bench as a judge of the circuit court of the second district. In 1815 he returned to his home. Two years later the people of Connecticut called him

to the office of governor, and elected him to that position for ten successive years.

Frederick Wolcott, also a son of Oliver, served his State in the legislative council and on the bench. He repeatedly refused to be nominated for governor by the prevailing political party, but as a private citizen fulfilled many important public duties. He was a member of the corporation of Yale College, and an active supporter of movements in behalf of education and charity.

The marriage of Frederick Wolcott to Elizabeth Huntington united two families of high character and remarkable public spirit.

Elizabeth Huntington's grandfather, Jabez Huntington, who had served several years as a member of the general assembly, soon after his graduation from Yale College entered the West India

trade, and by an honorable business career laid the foundation of one of the largest fortunes of that day. Before the breaking out of the Revolution, Jabez Huntington owned a large amount of shipping, and, as the signs of war increased, it became clear that his fortune was endangered. The question arose as to what his action should be in the crisis.

In the year 1774 he and his wife called the members of their family together, and after earnest prayer for guidance, he told them that he and their mother had been considering their duty to their country in relation to the almost certain loss to their fortune and worldly prospects. He added that before making a final decision which would bring them into hostility to "their dear motherland," he wished his children also to count the cost. Then deliberately addressing each one by name, he asked the

question: "Are you ready to go with your parents and share our risks and our rewards?" All pledged themselves to their country. That the pledge was kept is revealed in the history of Jabez Huntington and his five sons.

The father was appointed by the assembly one of the two major-generals of the militia of the State of Connecticut, and in the following year he received command of the entire state militia.

Of the sons, Jedediah, as colonel in command of a regiment, joined the army at Cambridge just one week after the battle of Lexington. Promoted brigadier-general at Washington's request, he took part in all the active campaigns of 1777 and 1778, and endured the hardships of Valley Forge. In December, 1780, his was the only Connecticut brigade that remained in the service.

Ebenezer also went to Cambridge at the news of the battle of Lexington; he, too, served as brigadier-general in the war, and was later a member of Congress.

Zachariah was a major-general, and Andrew was commissary of brigade during the war, and judge of probate.

Joshua, the father of Elizabeth Huntington, who married Frederick Wolcott, marched immediately after the battle of Lexington as lieutenant, with a hundred Norwich minute-men, to the scene of action, and joined Putnam's brigade. He went with Putnam to New York, where he was promoted to the rank of colonel.

From the marriage of Frederick Wolcott and Elizabeth Huntington was born Joshua Huntington Wolcott, the father of Roger Wolcott, late governor of Massachusetts.

ROGER WOLCOTT

When J. Huntington Wolcott was a boy, Boston was attracting the attention of the country by the increase of its business and its large commercial enterprises. Young Wolcott came to Boston and entered the counting-house of A. and A. Lawrence as senior apprentice. At twenty-six years of age he became a partner, and remained with the firm, becoming senior partner, until its dissolution in 1865. Throughout his business career, Mr. Wolcott was recognized as a man of high character and ability. He inherited the public spirit of his ancestry. There was exceptional grace and dignity in his bearing. His uniform courtesy to his employees and the errand boys from other offices, as well as to his business associates, lingers in the memories of men in active business to-day.

Mr. Wolcott married Cornelia, the

daughter of Samuel Frothingham, on November 12, 1844, and by her had two sons, Huntington Frothingham and Roger.

This historic sketch has been so full of dates and names of public offices as to suggest a dry chronicle. Reading between the lines, however, we discover character, patriotism, chivalry, and sacrifice in the public service. The name of the Wolcott family has not been created by one or two great men, but throughout their whole history of over two centuries and a half in this country, each generation has sustained the good name and the high character of the past. The members of the family, blessed with competence, have not felt that great spur to enterprise, the necessity of earning a living. What work they have done, therefore, and what service they have rendered, have been prompted, partly, to be sure, by a pure desire to sus-

tain the fair name of the family, but especially by that deep sense of obligation to serve God and man which has been at the foundation of the character and service of the English people, and especially of the Puritan stock which sought this coast. At the same time, the family has always sustained in its chivalric spirit, courtesy, and delicacy of feeling, much of the temper which is associated, not with the Puritan, but with the Cavalier of English history.

CHAPTER II

TWO BROTHERS

WHEN Roger Wolcott was born in Boston, July 13, 1847, he came into a home of singular charm.

His father had a deep love of nature and of out-of-door life. His mother was a woman of beauty and rare culture, a wide reader, familiar with the poets, and at the same time practical and thoughtful of the interests of the household. Huntington Frothingham, the elder son, was born eighteen months before Roger.

The house in Boston where they passed the winters was on Boylston Street, facing the Common. The home which parents

and children most enjoyed was, however, upon the slope of Blue Hill, about eight miles from Boston. The house stands upon the edge of the woods which cover the hill; from the lawn, the land slopes down to the valley, and to the plain of Readville, through which the Neponset River winds, and in the distance are spread in rich damp green the Canton meadows.

When he was three years old, Roger's mother died. Her oldest sister, Harriet, came to take charge of the household, and later, as his father's second wife, became a mother to the boys.

In early childhood they were taught at home by their mother, or in company with a few of their friends' children. On reaching boyhood they entered the private school of Mr. Dixwell in Boylston Place, Boston, just around the corner from their house.

ROGER AND HUNTINGTON WOLCOTT

The two boys were almost inseparable. Together they played their childhood games; together they learned to pray, for it was a religious home. In company with their father they mounted their ponies and galloped over the roads and through the fields. Together they climbed Blue Hill; they picknicked and fished at Ponkapoag Pond. The country folk knew the boys well, and they, catching the democratic spirit of their father, liked all the people.

Bound as they were in common interests and affections, there were sharp contrasts in features and character. Huntington's curly chestnut hair, brown eyes, open face, and well-built frame, his self-confidence and impulsive nature, marked him out as the natural leader. Roger was younger, less confident of himself; his jet-black hair and luminous gray eyes, his

sensitive face and sparer form, revealed a more nervous temperament, one that needed time to develop.

Huntington was the leader not only of his brother but of the school. Trouble with his eyes had kept him back, so that he had the chagrin of being in his younger brother's class; he had, however, the advantage of greater age, which figures high in athletics and the respect of boys. He was frank, generous, courteous, and of sensitive moral organization. Roger was the better scholar, and held his own with other boys in their games; but when Huntington burst through the crowd with the football, Roger was lost in admiration of his brother.

Life ran happily on until 1862. Then the drum-beat in the streets warned the boys that war was in the air. That the youth of the land might be well prepared,

Dixwell's school, like many others, was formed into a military company. Twice a week they drilled under the supervision of an army officer. Huntington, the recognized leader of the school, was made captain. If to some of the other boys there were elements of play in the march and countermarch, it was serious work to the captain. He took command and by his character held command. No other boy could keep discipline as he could.

His father, ever active in public service, had accepted the position of treasurer of the Massachusetts branch of the Sanitary Commission. The talk at home was therefore full of battles and the wounded, of comforts and clothing for the sick, of the departure of regiments, and the return of the bodies of the dead. The plain of Readville was converted into a great camp, where regiments were drilling, preparing,

and waiting for service at the front. The boys were sent with delicacies from the garden for the men and officers, some of whom were relatives and family friends. Such experiences could not but strike fire in the hearts of Huntington and Roger, for theirs was the martial spirit of their ancestry.

In June, 1862, the transport Daniel Webster, which under the Sanitary Commission had brought from the South some sick and wounded soldiers, was about to return. Although he was only sixteen years old, Huntington succeeded in persuading his father to let him go with the ship and pass a few weeks as a surgeon's assistant. They entered by way of Chesapeake Bay the Pamunkey River, and landed at "White House," about twenty-three miles from Richmond. The enthusiasm for McClellan was then high, and the familiar cry was "On to Richmond!" The

people of the North had not begun to realize the magnitude of the task before them. Living in the midst of the soldiers, riding, as he visited the Massachusetts troops, to within a few miles of Richmond, Huntington got a taste of war, its horrors, its glories, and its great and noble motive. He heard the guns of battle, saw the wounded brought to the rear, and helped to give them relief. Bidding farewell to his former tutor, James Jackson Lowell, who was soon to fall, he returned in the transport, which was filled with wounded soldiers.

As he took up his studies in the autumn and commanded the company of Dixwell's boys, there were manifest a seriousness of purpose and an inner strength which were maturing his character. Soon the deep conviction that it was his duty to enlist was made known to his parents. He was

but seventeen years old: they could not think of letting him go. He pledged his brother Roger, however, not to oppose his desire. The fire burned within him; a year passed, and again he urged his sense of duty. The pressure became so strong that at last his parents agreed that, if he would wait one year more, and if the war was not then at an end, they would give their consent. Huntington was impulsive, but, more than that, he was a youth of will and deep conviction. While he acceded to his parents' wish and gave himself to his studies and music, he could not keep silence. "Dear mother," he wrote, when she was away from home, "I shall feel dishonored all my life; you must let me go." As the year came toward its close, and the birthday approached which would make him nineteen and at the same time bring the decision, Huntington, obedient

as he was, became more serious and impatient. A month before his birthday, when his parents were in New York, he received the offer of a commission in a black regiment. His mother, not yet aware of the offer, wrote him, pressing the argument that the war was near its end, that he was young, and that he could serve his country later. "After the war is over, we shall need wise men, pure patriots in the councils of the country, and high-minded statesmen, men of large culture, refinement of taste, Christian integrity and virtue, more than the soldier." As she was writing thus, her boy was mailing her a letter urging permission to accept the commission, and ending, "Dear mother, you must let me go, I feel so about it. I think it would be sweet to die for my country."

With parents patriotic and wise, and a

boy of such spirit, there could be but one result.

He received from Governor Andrew a commission as second lieutenant in the Second Regiment of Cavalry, Massachusetts Volunteers. For the last time Huntington came to school and commanded the company of boys. They were still boys, and he, though young in years, had suddenly sprung into manhood. The uniform enhanced his beauty and strong though graceful form. The school gave him his sword; the belt was buckled over the red sash; and Lieutenant Wolcott, modest, simple, and true, went forth in the spirit of his fathers, as did thousands of youth in those years of the nation's stress. His last words to Roger were: "Keep jolly, and be all you can to father and mother."

He was first sent to the camp at Read-

ville. In a few days the order came for him to join without delay his regiment, which was with Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. He went to Winchester: Sheridan had left. Soon learning the position of his regiment, he reached the camp of General Gibbs, and was assigned to Company I of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry. Within a week he, with his regiment, was in the midst of the conflict with Early's forces in the Shenandoah, and took part in the brilliant battles which resulted in the surrender of General Lee and closed the war. At the request of General Gibbs, he was appointed by the President an aide-de-camp upon his staff. Two letters from his general reveal the temper of the youth. After the battle of Five Forks, General Gibbs wrote to his own mother, Mrs. Gibbs, a letter which he had no reason to think that others would ever

see. "We have just passed through one of the most terrible and decisive battles of the war. We have turned Lee's right and captured seven thousand prisoners and nine pieces of artillery. . . . Out of five hundred men, I have lost fifteen officers and seventy-five men. . . . Huntington Wolcott, who was acting on my staff, behaved nobly, like a Wolcott; went into the thick of the fight, and brought down a lot of prisoners. He is just as earnest and ardent as ever, in action as well as expression."

On May 9th, 1865, he wrote from the headquarters of the First Cavalry Division to Huntington's father: "I consider his pluck as most extraordinary — and he has been so fortunate as to have joined in the most eventful campaign of the war — the one that sealed the fate of the hated Confederacy. He has passed through it un-

scathed. From frequent and close observation of his conduct, I have noticed particularly his gallantry at Dinwiddie Court House, Five Forks, Clover Hill, April 9th, and on various other occasions, and have often refused him permission to 'go in' when his ambition prompted him, but duty did not require him to do so.

"A favorite with my staff, and congenial to all with whom he is brought in contact, he is full of 'snap' when he thinks things are not going right.

"He has had a terribly tough baptism in military service, but has come out of it with increased vigor and vitality of both body and mind."

Soon followed the grand review of the army at Washington. For two days the line of veterans, with toughened bodies, tanned skins, faded uniforms, and tattered

flags, marched in review. Huntington's father was there; but he was not the only one to mark the beauty of the boy. Perhaps his short service made his uniform brighter than the others; his face was fresher and more youthful; at all events, he caught attention. Others noted and wrote of "the radiant beauty of young Wolcott."

Thus passed the war and its glory. There was little else to be done except to be mustered out and come home. Even when Huntington was in the great procession, typhoid fever had begun its work. Within a few days he was very ill. The one hope of life seemed to be in his escape from the malarial air of the Potomac to the northern climate. He was borne quickly home. As he was laid upon his bed beneath the shadow of Blue Hill, and breathed the odor of the pines, and heard

familiar voices, he revived; but the disease did not release its hold. "My darling Roger; Roger, my love to the boys," were his whispered words.

On the 9th of June, 1865, another Wolcott, patriot and soldier, a chivalrous boy, passed on.

Again the schoolboys met, and in his home in Boston gathered around the bier of Huntington, their friend and leader.

His mother had well said, "After the war is over, we shall need wise men, pure patriots in the councils of the country, and high-minded statesmen." Huntington, to whom she wrote, had passed on. Roger was left.

CHAPTER III

A HARVARD STUDENT

IT was natural that the sickness and death of Huntington should have borne heavily on the strength of his father and mother. The effect upon Roger was as that upon a tender sapling when its support has been withdrawn. He drooped, and showed such physical and nervous depression as to cause anxiety and compel his parents to take him to Europe. There they remained for more than a year. In England they ran down to the manor house at Tolland, and visited the graves of the ancient Wolcotts, or Walcotts; for in England the latter form

was and is the more common. Appreciative as they were of their English ancestry, they were steadfast Americans. While in London, Roger's mother gave him a seal ring with the family coat of arms. The seal-maker mentioned that the arms were identical with those of the English Walcotts. A few days later, a member of the Walcott family, a man of distinction, called upon Mr. Wolcott to compare notes upon the subject. Being convinced that the American branch was from his own family, he invited Roger, then a boy of seventeen, to lunch with him, in order to give him copies of the family records. In the course of conversation this gentleman said, "Mr. Wolcott, if you intend to hitch on to the English branch of the family you must change the spelling of your name." "Sir," said Roger, "we do not intend to hitch on to any fam-

ily." "Then," was the answer, "the purpose of this interview is misunderstood;" and the English representative of the family tore the records in pieces. He had met America in one boy. Roger was sent back the next day by his mother to apologize, and the incident was closed.

Walking in Switzerland confirmed Roger's gaining strength, and study in Paris prepared him for college. As his class from Dixwell's school had entered Harvard during his absence, he joined them in the sophomore year. It is difficult for a young man entering college the second year to make a position for himself in the class. However, his group of old schoolmates received Roger into their club table. He was fond of out-of-door life, a strong walker, and a good horseman. While enthusiastically interested in all athletic events, he took little active part

in the college sports. Of excellent ability, he worked harder as a student than his intimate friends. He read more widely than was the custom of students in those days. His interests were in the languages, history, and literature. He did some work on the only college paper of the time, "The Harvard Advocate," and was one of the active organizers of the O. K., a society which drew into its circle men of literary as well as social tastes. He was elected into the social clubs, and took an active interest in the Hasty Pudding.

He thus gradually and unconsciously increased the circle of his acquaintance and friends.

A feeling of loneliness and his sensitive nature sometimes threw him into moods of deep depression. He then assumed in social life an almost forced manner of

lightness and gayety. His brother's memory was a constant source of inspiration. In his senior year he wrote: "I feel it more every day that every high aspiration, every yearning after nobleness, which I sometimes feel, is to be traced directly to Hunty's influence and example; and that, if there is ever developed in me any spark of true worth, it will be his memory that kindles it."

Of this inner life, however, his classmates knew nothing. To them he was always frank and true, bright and alert, with a sense of humor, unfailing in his courtesy, and always ready to give full credit for the acts and motives of others. At the same time they realized that there was a reserve in his nature, which lent dignity and weight to his bearing.

He therefore rose quietly and steadily to recognition in the class. Standing ninth

ÆT. 20

in rank, a member in the senior year of the Phi Beta Kappa, and a good speaker, it was natural that when the class came to the elections he should be the only man seriously considered for orator.

In 1870 the Class-Day exercises were held in the First Parish Church. In the front pews sat the members of the class; behind them and in the galleries were the typical Class-Day auditors, — fresh young girls in brilliant dress, solemn dons, proud parents, and distinguished guests. The noble head of General Sherman, a hero of the day, was conspicuous in the throng.

Roger Wolcott arose to make his first public speech. If a young man is real and simple, he speaks out of his inmost convictions at such a time. Such a man was the orator of the day. His hair was black as jet, his face pale, then flushed; his

straight, tall figure stood firm, his voice was clear and strong. As he spoke, the great heat of the day was forgotten, and the people listened intently. It was not the speech of maturity, but of youth. It was, however, direct, sincere, and strong, and, being a part of his inner life, it rang true. Several times in later years General Sherman asked his Boston friends, "When are we to hear from that young man, Wolcott, who spoke on Class-Day?"

No doubt the sentiment of the day threw a glamour over the scene. Still, even after the lapse of thirty years, the speech has warmth and life, for it reveals some of the ideals of Roger Wolcott in his youth. Harvard Memorial Hall was rising from its foundations; and the nation had just observed one of its first memorial days.

The orator named "enthusiasm of heart and earnestness of mind" as the two requi-

sites of character in the manhood of the times, and said: —

"The head and the heart are peers, and neither can be exalted without debasing the other. . . . Enthusiasm is of the heart, not of the head. It is a means, not an end. It is a tool given us with which to work, a tool which we shall do well to guard from rust, — a talent which we must not wrap up in a napkin. Enthusiasm is a quality through which a man does with his might whatever his hand and his head find to do. It is because it is so often applied to ignoble uses, because what the heart finds to do might so often better be left undone, that we grow to regard it with suspicion and distrust. . . .

"It is to secure this vital principle, this intentness of resolve and action, that we so often hear of the necessity of infusing young blood into the councils of the old.

The increasing burden of years seems to drag heavily upon the heart, and to threaten constantly to stifle its beatings. Men are too often petrified by the slow-dropping mists of experience laden with disappointment and failure, and ever the heart hardens first. Listlessness and indifference take the place of earnestness and vigor. That baleful apathy which Ruskin calls the greatest mystery of life, settles down upon the soul, deadening and destroying. The man forgets his youth's ideal, lowers his aspirations to the attainment of mediocrity, and sinks, often with scarce a struggle, to the dead level which is so marked a characteristic of the time. He who escapes this danger is the man in whose breast the sacred flame still glows, who pursues the nobler aims of his riper years with the same exuberance of vitality, with the same abandonment of self, with

which, as a child, he gave chase to the butterfly fancies of the hour. . . .

"All honor to the intellect in its proper sphere. To depreciate its dignity would be presumption indeed. It is through his intellect that man is but little lower than the angels; but it is by his heart that he partakes of the nature of God. . . .

"When once our faith in other men's virtue is lost, it is no wonder if we make no advance in virtue ourselves. . . . There must be that within us which claims kindred with the nobility of others, or the magnet of their influence will be to us no more than a piece of bent iron. Distrust of the motives of others is often tantamount to a confession of the insincerity of one's own. Cynicism, like the mistletoe, saps the very life of that on which it fastens. . . .

"But it is when our self-interest allures

us from our original path, when we let slip from our memory Harvard's grand old motto, 'Veritas,' and wander farther from the influence of that force which can alone through life draw us onward and upward, it is then that the heart only can set us right. . . .

"Young as we are, we have lived in grand and stirring times. Scarce one of us but has felt the blood tingle with a sensation never before experienced when, at the drum-beat, as if by enchantment, the hero stood forth in the person of father, brother, friend. Who does not remember the hurried parting, the anxious days of doubt, the joyous return? Or perchance to some of us a treasured sword or musket and a proud though heart-rending memory may alone remain as talismans of blessed influence for our future lives.

"Strange indeed would it be if we

allowed ourselves to forget the force of their glorious example. And yet can we deny that there is a widespread danger throughout the country that this will be the case? Money has again become a rival with honor for the foremost place in the nation's regard. Oblivion of the past is deemed the only security of the present. . . .

"Why has the nation set apart a day in the sunny springtime to deck with flowers and garlands the graves of our fallen soldiers throughout the land? Is it with the thought of honoring the dead that this is done? I think not. Earthly flowers, however fair, laid upon cold marble or senseless sod, can hardly be thought to bestow much of honor on those upon whose brows the hand of God has placed the immortal wreath. It is, as I think, that in the stillness of the cemetery we may hear with

more distinctness than in the busy turmoil of our daily lives that 'voice that cometh from behind' — from the grave of the buried past, from the spirits of the noble dead, saying, 'This is the way, walk ye in it;' the way of devotion to country and to principle, the way of hardship and self-sacrifice, the way of life through death.

"It is for a kindred purpose that in yonder old playground the foundations have been laid of a stately structure to stand a lasting memorial to the sons of this university who gave their lives to insure their country's salvation. Is it for their sake that the trowel and hammer are so busily plied where once the click of the bat and the shout of the players startled the echoes from the neighboring chapel? Let us not deceive ourselves. It is for us, for the hundreds who yearly pass from these gates, to carry the ideas which they have

here acquired to their distant homes. The influence of association is strong, and well may the heart beat with a quicker pulse and the soul be thrilled with nobler sentiments within walls hallowed by such sacred memories.

"If at any time indifference and an almost pardonable disgust tempt us to leave undone the little which individual effort may do to rescue our national politics from corruption, must not the thought flash into our minds of the heroism here commemorated? We perhaps may find it irksome even to cast a vote for what we believe to be our country's good.

"'But these, our brothers, fought for her,
At life's dear peril wrought for her,
So loved her that they died for her.'

"Nothing can insure the success of the great experiment which is here trying, nothing can enable us to preserve our

national existence, save the intelligence, integrity, and loyalty of the educated classes. The dangers which threaten us are great and constant. If Intelligence stands aloof we are lost. No educated man is justified in shrinking from the responsibility which is thrust upon him, nor is it possible for any American citizen to wash his hands of his country. There is no such thing as neutrality in citizenship. He who is not with his country is against her. The absence of a vote from the side of Intelligence adds a new sinew to the arm of Ignorance, which is ever raised menacingly against the nation's honor and security.

" Our duty then to our country is positive and grave. If we discharge it with the full-hearted loyalty displayed by those who have gone before us, we may rest assured that no laurel which we can bind about the brows of our alma mater will she

wear with more pride than that won in maintaining the dignity and honor of the republic. On the other hand, if we neglect this duty, in so doing we disregard the example of the past, the demand of the present, and the entreaty of the future. . . .

"So live that when in after years your hand once more grasps the hand of friend, he may see the soul of the boy looking forth from the eyes of the man; that he may feel that you are still the same — not changed, but grown."

On Commencement Day he had a part and gave an oration entitled "The Early Franciscans." Then with his classmates he received his degree from the hands of the young president, Charles W. Eliot, who for the first time presided at the Commencement exercises.

At this time Harvard was still a college.

The great leadership of the new president had hardly been felt. The choice of studies was small, and the many lines of interest which now stimulate the students and turn their thoughts toward congenial pursuits did not exist. Except for the informal talk of a few teachers there was no appeal to the young men to enter public life and very little to kindle their interest in the great national questions of the day. Perhaps the strongest stimulus in this direction given to the students in those days was an address, not of an American citizen, but of Tom Hughes, who, when a guest of James Russell Lowell, spoke to a mass meeting in old Massachusetts Hall. He expressed his surprise at finding how little interest the men of education took in the public life of the great republic. He told the students of the leadership of university men in the national life of England, and

called upon them to consecrate themselves to public service.

Upon his graduation Mr. Wolcott entered the law school, but was attracted by an invitation from the college, which he accepted, to teach for a year in French and History. The next year he passed in the law office of Lothrop, Bishop, and Lincoln. From 1872 to 1874 he was a student in the Harvard law school, taking his degree of bachelor of laws. He was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in 1874.

On September 2, 1874, he was married in Boston to Edith Prescott.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, before the capture of Louisburg, General Roger Wolcott of Connecticut was second in command to Sir William Pepperell. There also served in Nova Scotia under Sir William Pepperell a young lieutenant from Groton, Mass., William Prescott. At

the news of the battle of Lexington, he, like the Huntington brothers from Connecticut, reported at Cambridge as colonel of a regiment of minute-men. His record at Bunker Hill and elsewhere in the Revolutionary War is familiar. His son, Judge Prescott, was the father of the historian, William Hickling Prescott, whose son, William Gardiner Prescott, of Pepperell and Boston, was the father of Mr. Wolcott's bride. Sympathetic in all their associations as well as in character, Mr. and Mrs. Wolcott began their happy life together by traveling for a year in Europe.

CHAPTER IV

A CITIZEN

WHEN Roger Wolcott returned from Europe in 1875 at the age of twenty-eight, he was at the opening of active life.

Handsome, a favorite in social life, of excellent ability and education, he was the only son of a successful business man. Under no necessity to work, with a love of letters and of outdoor life, he might, had he been of a different temper, have settled down as a dilettante in literature or have given himself up to sport and pleasure. Such an alternative never occurred to him. There was that quality in him, which fortunately is in the great body of

American youth, that shrank from the thought of an aimless existence, and that esteemed a life of work and usefulness the only one worthy of a citizen of a republic or of manhood. The spirit of industry was in his blood, and the sense of duty and obligation to serve mankind had come down to him through generations of worthies. Whatever bit of work he undertook he threw himself into with ardor and enthusiasm.

The firm of A. and A. Lawrence, after half a century of honorable success, had dissolved, and Mr. J. Huntington Wolcott, except for the care of his own property and his duty as a director of various corporations, had retired from business. A commercial career had, however, little interest for his son.

Roger Wolcott opened an office in Pemberton Square, from which he moved

later to the Suffolk Bank Building on Tremont Street, and entered upon the practice of law. The outlook was promising; he had many friends, and a persuasive way of stating a case. His mind was well stored, clear, and accurate.

Society, however, is sensitive to conditions of character within it, and when the people feel that there is a young man of public spirit who is willing and able to take responsibilities, they gather around him and call him out to service.

Mr. Wolcott soon found that the papers upon his desk were not all strictly legal, and that not all the business hours of the day were given to the law.

As his father retired from this or that position, directors and stockholders discovered that the son was able to fill his father's place, and the young man often found himself in the midst of business

men of a former generation. He became a director of the Stark Mills, of the Boston and Providence Railroad, and of the New England Trust Company, a trustee of the Suffolk Savings Bank, and a vice-president of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. He declined an offer to be treasurer of a large manufacturing company.

The public, social, and charitable organizations laid hold of him. He came into personal touch with the poor as a visitor of the Boston Provident Association and a member of the board of managers of the Boston Dispensary. As trustee of the Eye and Ear Infirmary and of the Massachusetts General Hospital he took an active interest in the administration of these institutions. As he passed from bed to bed in the surgical and medical wards, and then visited the insane asylum at Somer-

ville, his gentle courtesy, his frame glowing with health, and his bright word and smile were from week to week a happy memory to the patients.

When there was danger that the ancient landmark, the Old South Church, would be torn down, he was active in saving it; he presided at the meetings of the preservation committee, and was later a member of the Old South Corporation. He delivered a lecture in one of the Old South courses upon the historian Prescott. He found congenial employment as a trustee of the Boston Public Library, and gave much time to the work of the Social Science Association.

His interest in New England history caused the Massachusetts Genealogical Society to turn to him for literary services. He took much interest in the Massachusetts Historical Society, was active as a

member of committees, and wrote a memoir of James Murray Robbins and other papers.

He became a vestryman of King's Chapel, where he was a member and constant worshiper after his marriage.

When elected in 1885 as an overseer of Harvard College he was a young man to have received such honorable recognition. It was a grateful service to him, and he gave to the work his best thought and time. One incident gave him an opportunity to test his abilities in swaying a sensitive and critical audience. The overseers at the time felt that the students were given too great liberty, and resolved to urge upon the faculty rather stringent regulations as to hours and habits of work. The students and many members of the faculty thought that the proposed restrictions were unnecessary and unwise. A

feeling of mutual suspicion was aroused. Mr. Wolcott was asked to address a mass meeting of students and members of the faculty, to answer questions, and to explain the position of the overseers. It was not an easy task. His frankness, however, disarmed criticism, and his sense of humor and his quick repartees gained the sympathy of the students. The comment of "The Lampoon" tells the result: —

"Roger Wolcott, Esq., of Boston, who presented the overseers' view of the recent restriction votes at the college conference meeting, Tuesday evening, succeeded, as no one had before done at these meetings, in bringing the large body of students to look on matters as do the healthy, broad-minded, and successful members of the alumni (of whom Mr. Wolcott is an excellent type). On his appearance on the platform, the mysterious 'Board of Over-

seers,' so long the butt of the 'Lampoon's' jokes, and the 'Crimson's' 'freshman' editorials, was materialized at once in a vigorous representative of the active alumni superior to both students and faculty, and able to carry out their reasonable demands. The throng of students that crowded the large lecture-room greeted him with long-continued applause, and notwithstanding the attempts of one or two Harvard Union debaters to stir up a snarl near the close, Mr. Wolcott was frequently interrupted with applause, and left amid the unmistakable signs of good-will in his audience."

In 1888, the development of the different departments of the university, especially of the Lawrence Scientific School, brought upon the overseers for the first time the question of the enlargement of the franchise, by which graduates of the

professional schools could be given the right to vote for overseers. Mr. Wolcott wrote and signed a report urging the enlargement of the franchise in such clear and effective argument and language, that later reports upon the subject have had little to add.

It might seem as if these were enough public interests to consume the time of a man who was trying to make his way in the law. Roger Wolcott was, however, a citizen who from boyhood had been impressed with a sense of duty to his country. As soon, therefore, as he reached the age of twenty-one, he took up the active duties of citizenship. He believed that all citizens should do their part, not only in voting, but in political work. He was active at the caucuses, and distributed ballots at the elections. He cast his vote with the utmost conscientiousness.

It was soon clear to those who were interested in good city government, that Roger Wolcott had in him the possibilities of excellent public service. Within two years of the time that he had begun work as a lawyer, he was nominated and elected a member of the common council of Boston. He was again elected, serving in 1877, 1878, and 1879. His consistency, courtesy, and fairmindedness so gained for him the confidence of men of all parties, that even then he was spoken of as a possible non-partisan candidate for mayor. In 1882, 1883, and 1884, he served in the lower house of the state legislature. He worked and spoke in the campaign of 1882 against the election of Benjamin F. Butler as governor.

As a member of the joint standing committee on public charitable institutions, he showed force in connection with

the Tewksbury Almshouse investigation by Governor Butler. Upon his retirement from the legislature, he had won the confidence of the whole house.

During these years, he had followed the course of the two great national parties. The Republican party, with which by inheritance and conviction he was allied, and which had been in power since the war, was showing the demoralizing influences of success. The narrow escape from defeat by the Democratic party led by Mr. Tilden in 1876, and the pure administration of President Hayes, had been helpful toward reform. To the upholders of pure government, and to the increasing body of mugwumps and independents, there was, however, ample cause for discontent. In 1880 Garfield and Arthur were elected.

During the next four years the condi-

tions in the party seemed to many to become worse. The management of the party was in the hands of men who, for political and financial integrity, had not the confidence of the country. The man who stood to many of the people as the most conspicuous representative of these elements was James G. Blaine. When, therefore, the Republican Convention of 1884 met and, in spite of the protest of a large number of delegates and the open statement that a fraction would bolt his nomination, Mr. Blaine was nominated, Mr. Wolcott refused to be one of those to support the nomination. Mr. Wolcott was a Republican whose loyalty to the party was not dependent upon the personality of the man at the head of the ticket. Four years before, when his friends were forming Bristow clubs before the national convention, he, though

he admired Mr. Bristow, and would have been glad to see him nominated, refused to join a club. He believed in giving the convention freedom of action in the choice of candidates. The nomination of Mr. Blaine was to him, however, more than a question of personality, — there was an issue of morality. The support of the Republican candidate meant to him the support of unworthy and evil elements in the national government. His decision to break from his political associations caused him much distress. He believed then, as he did through life, that the American people have high moral standards, and that the party which expects to hold their confidence must not only have high principles in its platforms, but must select for its leaders men in whose political honesty and high character the people can trust. As a Republican, therefore,

and for what he believed to be the best interests of the Republican party, he voted for the candidate in whose political integrity he had confidence, Grover Cleveland.

This action of Mr. Wolcott was significant. He was not by nature or taste an independent; he believed in political parties; he was a strong Republican, and indorsed the general principles of the Republican party. He had been steadily gaining in influence in the party in Massachusetts, had won many friends, and had so conducted himself in office as to make promotion almost certain if he stood by the party. He had begun to catch the eye of the public. Political office as such had no attractions for him; but as a means of public service he esteemed public office. However, to him the issue was plain and his duty clear. He had plenty of useful work ahead, and no one by taste

and education was better fitted to be a happy private citizen. He declined to be a candidate for Congress on the Independent-Democratic ticket, when an election was almost sure. He still claimed to be a good Republican. At the next caucus his vote was protested, but he pressed his claim, and was so far successful that he was sent in 1885 from ward 11, Boston, as an alternate delegate to the next Republican State Convention, and as a delegate took part in its proceedings.

At this time, the health of his father, Mr. J. Huntington Wolcott, was beginning to fail, and Mrs. Wolcott had been delicate for years. In fact, life had not been the same to them since Huntington's death, and they both looked upon Roger, their only son, as the support and comfort of their declining years. With what filial piety he gave himself to that service is

familiar to all who knew them. His devotion to his parents is, perhaps, the most beautiful feature of his whole life. So complete was it, that some of his intimate friends were at times disposed to chafe, feeling that he was unduly hampered in the prosecution of interests which might lead to his future influence or position.

When he was asked to run as a Republican candidate for mayor of Boston, with a probability of election, he declined on account of his father's health. Besides taking the full responsibility of his father's affairs, he attended to all the petty questions of the household and the estate at Blue Hill. No public business was so pressing that it could draw him away from anything which he felt would be of pleasure or comfort to his parents. In fact, it may be said that during the last few years of his father's life, Roger considered his

father's comfort his chief business, and all other duties, private, professional, or public, subordinate to that.

The quiet hours passed with his parents gave him opportunity for reading and writing. In 1887 he wrote for the "Transcript" a careful article on the Constitution adopted in 1787. He was very fond of poetry, and learned much by heart, which he repeated with deep feeling. His reading of the Bible was most tender and impressive. As his father's strength waned, Roger's devotion became more and more complete, until he seemed to fill the offices of doctor, chaplain, and nurse; and when the end came in 1891 and the care ceased, it was, with all its relief, as if one great privilege of his life had been taken from him.

In 1884 the election of Mr. Cleveland,

the first Democratic President since the civil war, was a warning to the Republican party that a new generation was rising, that certain old issues dear to the Republicans were dead, and that there was discontent with the leadership of the party. The country was tired of eloquent platforms and wanted men. Mr. Cleveland soon showed himself to be a man of force, and struck out in lines that drew the attention of the thoughtful young men of the country. The impression was abroad, certainly in some of the Eastern States, that the Republican party was hidebound, that it insisted on an unreasonable tariff, that it was governed by the corporations, and especially that, being in the hands of men like Senator Quay of Pennsylvania, who was at that time chairman of the national Republican committee, nothing in the way of high principle or strong leader-

ship on the great issues could be expected of it. The Republican party and its management in Massachusetts seemed to reflect something of the same spirit. Massachusetts had ever since the war been reckoned as a Republican stronghold, but there had risen from the ranks of the once despised Democratic party a young Harvard man, William E. Russell, who, by his election as Governor in 1890, won a great Democratic victory. It was clear that he had been elected by the votes of men who once voted the Republican ticket or by young men who, of Republican parentage, were rising up to make a new Democratic party. Again Russell was elected, and young men like John F. Andrew and Sherman Hoar, sons of great Republican leaders of the war, were going to Congress as Democrats.

It was time that something should be

done to stem the tide by the younger men of the Republican party who believed in a forward movement and higher political standards. Beginning with an informal gathering, the Republican Club of Massachusetts was formed; its list of members soon ran into the hundreds. The critical question was whom should they select as their standard-bearer; who among the younger Republicans had the courage and tact, the position and force, to call the attention of the people to the movement and to show them that they too had a leader.

They turned to Roger Wolcott at the time that his father's death left him free to enter public life again, and he became the first president of the Young Men's Republican Club of Massachusetts, now the Republican Club of Massachusetts.

In January, 1891, the club had its first public dinner. Upon the president de-

volved the duty of striking the first note and of revealing to the public the motives and objects of the club. Were there in him and the members the elements of leadership? It must be borne in mind that, although there was much discontent in some quarters, the public conscience had not yet been aroused, and men with political futures had not spoken in clear tones. The speech of Roger Wolcott, unconscious as he was of the fact, marked his entrance into public life and a new political era, at least for the State of Massachusetts. In truth, some waves of his strong voice swept through the country. The speech is prophetic; its characteristics are the characteristics that were his to the end. It was the word of a high-minded man who was in earnest; it rang true; it revealed a full confidence in the intelligence and character of the Ameri-

can people; it appealed, not to their passions, but to their consciences and high traditions. After expressing the loyalty of the club to Republican principles and recalling the great deeds of the party in and since the war, he said: —

"Such memories are a curse if they serve but to unnerve the arm and to slacken effort. Unless they be an incentive to lofty courage and noble emulation, they become by contrast a stigma to the present generation and brand it as unworthy of that which is so rapidly passing away.

"No word of mine shall ever be uttered to depreciate that robust and virile independence in politics which holds country and honor above party, which while acting within party lines ever strives to secure the best in men and measures, and, often buffeted and defeated, never ceases to

wage war upon dishonesty and chicanery, using party as a weapon but never wearing it as a yoke.

"But the independent who prides himself upon being a total abstainer, until the day of election, from all lot or part in political movements, should be treated as those who skulk when the bugle sounds. It was not the arduous rigors of the Alps nor the repeated assaults of Rome's trained legions that broke the nerve of Hannibal's victorious army, but the soft vices of Capua, where sloth and ease took the place of vigilance and strife, and the sutler's tent supplanted the general's guidon in the soldier's affection.

"Is this to be the fate of the Republican party? It must not be. It must make its appeal, as of old, to the intelligence and patriotism of the country. It must rally to its standard the recruit and drum out

the mercenary. The loss of thousands of votes in this State was due to the Pennsylvanian who is still chairman of the national committee. . . .

"The Empire State substitutes a Hill for an Evarts in her highest office, and when he takes his seat in the Senate he will present an interesting subject for comparison with his able and upright Republican predecessor. . . .

"We look to the Republican party as the bulwark against the menace of irrational silver legislation. This battle is not yet fought out to an issue. . . . Congress may put a false bottom in the quart pot or bore out the core of a pound weight and fill it with cement, and declare that the new measures shall still be called a quart or a pound, and this may satisfy him who sells, but no power on earth can make him who buys satisfied therewith. In like

manner, Congress may say, not without a sacrifice of national honor, that seventy or eighty or ninety cents' worth of silver shall be called a dollar, but in the exchanges of the world this fiat money dictum will have just about as much effect as a paper blockade. On this issue the position of the Republican party must be sharply defined.

"We believe that wherever, through bribery, intimidation, or fraud, elections fail to express the will of the legally qualified voters, there is a failure of republican government. The menace to the cause of free government embodied in 'blocks of five' is as real as that lurking in the shotgun or the tissue ballot.

"More than it has yet done is expected of the Republican party in the reform of civil service. It requires no very close study of American politics to reveal the

fact that the dispensation of party patronage has done more to corrupt and imbitter elections, to squander the time of those in office, to demoralize those who aspire to office, and to wreck the fortunes of individuals, of administrations, and of parties, than almost any other cause. . . .

"These are some of the questions on which we believe the position of the Republican party to be more sound and enlightened than that of the Democratic; and for this reason we are content to sit here to-night as members and guests and well-wishers of the Republican club of Massachusetts."

After this speech Roger Wolcott and his young followers were an element to be reckoned with in the political life of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER V

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

THE death of his father in 1891 left Mr. Wolcott free to take up again such public duties or office as might be offered him.

In the spring of 1892 the active members of the Republican Club of Massachusetts and those who were of a sympathetic mind came to the conclusion that it was time that the principles for which they stood should be more actively felt in the State Republican party; they therefore began work looking towards the nomination of a young man for the office of governor or lieutenant-governor. The name suggested was that of Roger Wolcott.

There were many considerations in his favor. He had had experience in the Boston common council and the legislature, and had shown himself to be conscientious, fairminded, courteous, and wise: he was a man of high social position and of fine and attractive presence; he had in his Republican Club speech grasped the situation and expressed the feelings of the people.

On the other hand, there were evident limitations. Eight years before, when the Republican party was in danger of defeat, Mr. Wolcott had forsaken its banner and had voted for the first Democratic President since the war. He was therefore obnoxious to some influential politicians, and they had good reason to think that he would hurt the ticket among the rank and file of Republicans. Others felt that, being of high social position and a Harvard man, living on the Back Bay, he was not one of

the people. The people, they thought, had no interest in a young man who was so nice in his political principles and so aristocratic in bearing.

As the Republican Convention approached, all agreed that the nomination for governor should be given to William H. Haile, then lieutenant-governor. The struggle was to be upon the nomination for lieutenant-governor. The names of four candidates were presented, and on the first ballot there was no election. The issue was now clear between the two elements then existing in the state party, and on the second ballot Mr. Wolcott was nominated by a vote of 499 to 473, with two scattering votes.

It was a presidential campaign. Mr. Harrison had been renominated, and the Democrats had brought again to the front their leader, Mr. Cleveland. Governor

William E. Russell, deservedly popular throughout the State, was running for his third term.

For the first time the people of Massachusetts had an opportunity to see and hear Mr. Wolcott. As he stood before them, they recognized his simplicity and sincerity. His presence betokened a Massachusetts man of the finest type; he was tall and straight; his head was well set, his face open and frank; in his jet black hair was a touch of silver. Even before he opened his mouth, he had gained the interest and sympathy of the audience. His voice was clear and, as it rose, ringing. He wasted no time in telling funny stories; in this he showed his respect for the people's intelligence and serious-mindedness. If in the first few words he spoke lightly or bandied a word with the previous speaker or an opponent who had made a

speech in town the night before, it was always with a purpose, to lead up to his main thought; and when he was once off, he held to his subject and treated it earnestly and seriously. He kindled as he went on, broke forth into more rhetorical phrases; led the people back to the salient thought; appealed to their higher motives, to patriotism or religion; and sat down.

No one saw in him a great orator, a merely amusing speaker, a narrow party advocate, or an over-keen debater. He rose to heights of eloquence at times, he had a sense of humor, and could be quick at repartee; when occasion called he sent back to his opponent as good as he gave, but always with courtesy and a full appreciation of the position of the other. He never took unfair advantage to misquote, misinterpret, or ascribe ulterior motives to his opponent. Sometimes

he was so considerate of the other point of view as to seem to weaken his own position; but that very temper gained for him the confidence of his hearers. If, as was the case in this campaign, his votes on some questions in the legislature were criticised, he met the issue frankly, stated his position, and relying on his record, let the people judge for themselves as to his motives and the wisdom of his course.

He spoke, and the people recognized that he spoke simply as a citizen, a patriot, to whom high privileges had been given and upon whom certain public duties had been laid; he was a man among men, interested in men, women, and children, always glad to meet them and appreciative of their loyalty to him.

The great power of Roger Wolcott with the people of Massachusetts was in the fact that in all places and under all circum-

stances he rang true. There was something in the transparency of his character and the simplicity of his nature which revealed this. The farmer and the mill-hand, hearing him for the first time, felt it; then watching him knew it. He trusted the people, and the people trusted him.

This was the impression that he made in his first campaign, as he spoke from town to city throughout the Commonwealth.

In the national election the Democrats won, and Mr. Cleveland was elected. In the state, Mr. Russell's popularity made him again governor, but with that exception the Republican ticket, with Mr. Wolcott as lieutenant-governor, was elected.

Mr. Wolcott now found himself in a rather delicate position. As lieutenant-governor he was at the head of the State Republican party, with, however, a Democrat as governor. Some partisans would

have liked to have him make party capital out of the position and appeal to the populace by hampering the governor and putting him when possible into difficult situations. On the other hand, Mr. Wolcott, suspected by some Republicans of being an independent at heart, was by policy and principle bound to stand by the party when an issue should arise, and to run the risk of being called a partisan by his independent supporters. Whenever, and it was usually the case, he could support the governor's policy or nominations, he did so. Whenever by rare exceptions he could not, he said so frankly, and gave his reasons.

There was but one issue of importance between himself and the governor, and that arose at the first meeting of the council.

The unusual situation of a governor of one party and a council of the other raised

the question of the right of the governor to appoint all committees of the council. An amendment to the existing rule was offered that all committees be appointed by the governor "unless the council shall otherwise order." Before the vote was taken, the governor read a protest against the amendment as infringing upon the rights and prerogatives of the governor. The lieutenant-governor followed with a statement, which he asked to have placed upon record, showing that the council was defining its inherent right, and was following the precedent of all legislative bodies in determining the method of the appointment of committees. He lifted the subject to a high plane, and although the papers of each party tried to make an issue, his judicial treatment of the question had withdrawn it from partisan discussion. In this action at the very beginning of his

administration, the people realized that in the lieutenant-governor they had a man of force and independent habits of thought.

As the summer of 1893 approached, the question arose as to who should lead the Republican party at the next election. Governor Russell had notified his party that he would retire at the end of his term. The Republicans now saw their opportunity to regain the State. A man must be selected as the candidate for governor who was well known throughout the Commonwealth, who had had wide experience, who would unite all the elements of the party, and who by temperament and ability could put up a hard and close fight. Several candidates were in the field. Mr. Wolcott's friends were divided; many of them hoped that the tradition of promotion would be followed and that he would be selected; others felt that he should not

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stand; even those near him did not yet realize his strength with the people. He was, however, still young; the whole State did not know him well, and his was not the campaign-fighting temperament.

The Hon. Frederic T. Greenhalge, of Lowell, who had served in Congress from 1889 to 1891 with credit and had shown himself a man of independent temper and a good fighter, was brought forward as the best man for the emergency. Mr. Wolcott's name was not presented to the convention as a candidate for the nomination for governor. After the nomination of Mr. Greenhalge, Mr. Wolcott was nominated unanimously and by acclamation as the candidate for lieutenant-governor.

His speech to the convention upon the acceptance of his nomination expresses clearly the issues before the country and his attitude toward them.

"We pledge again," he said, "our allegiance to those principles from which the Republican party has never wavered in its support. We believe in an honest and stable currency. We believe in and demand a dollar that shall not be the poorest or the cheapest dollar in the world, but the best dollar in the world. We believe in a tariff policy which, while it protects the American laboring man, fosters and encourages American industries. We believe in a free ballot and an honest count everywhere throughout our country. We believe in equal privileges under our law, and equal protection under the law of all our citizens, whatever be their creed, their color, or their birth. We believe in honest enforcement of the civil service law, with sincerity and without hypocrisy. We believe that the merit system should be still further extended. These are some of

the faiths that have made us and held us Republicans. Into this campaign we go forth determined to win success for every name from the highest to the lowest."

The result of the election was a victory for the Republicans: Mr. Greenhalge received a vote of 192,613 and Mr. Wolcott of 194,243.

The two following years of 1894 and 1895, during which Mr. Wolcott fulfilled the duties of his office, were uneventful. He cordially supported the governor, was conscientious and wise in his work as a member of the council, and relieved the governor of much arduous labor by representing the Commonwealth in his stead at many public functions.

There was one incident which enabled Mr. Wolcott to reveal his true American spirit.

There swept at this time over New

England one of those tides of suspicion of the Roman Catholic Church which occasionally rise among Protestant peoples. Mr. Wolcott, in approving the appointment of a certain Roman Catholic as a supervisor of schools, aroused the hostility of the organization which represented this movement and which claimed to represent a large number of voters, — the American Protective Association, popularly called the A. P. A. When, therefore, the time came for his re-election, his position upon the religious question was demanded; and in a speech at Holyoke in October, 1895, he gave no uncertain answer when he said: —

"It seems to me that no greater injury can be done to the American people than in attempting to bring into our elections the bitter feelings of race and religious animosity.

"And I believe that whoever undertakes to do that — and I care not who began it, on which side it springs — I believe that whoever does that does an injury to the Commonwealth which I suppose he professes to love and does love.

"To draw the line on religious grounds I believe to be a crime against the broad conception of the United States of America, and the broad and generous Republican party. I have known, as all of you have, too many loyal, faithful friends — those who served in the army have had comrades as brave, as devoted to the flag as any one, — men born perhaps across the sea, under different allegiance, under a different religion, who, when they found themselves here, assimilated into the life of the nation, showed themselves to have the same quality of citizenship which we boast of in our own citizens. . . .

"I appeal to the people of Massachusetts to hold her true to that principle of equal rights and obligations which I believe to be embodied in the Constitution of the United States of America, and in that careful statement in the Constitution of Massachusetts, — equal rights to all, no matter what their religious opinion may be, so long as you recognize in them the spirit of loyalty to the nation and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

There was a decrease of some thousands in his vote at the next election, though whether it was due to this or to other conditions is uncertain. Frank as he was in meeting this un-American spirit on one side, he was equally frank when he spoke as follows to the students of Holy Cross College, many of whom were of foreign parentage: —

"You will agree with me, I am sure, when

I say that the name of American gains nothing by having any other word coupled with it by a hyphen; that we all, whose destinies, whose lives, whose very selves are to-day bound up with the destiny of America, that we need not call ourselves British-Americans, nor German-Americans, nor Scandinavian-Americans, nor Irish-Americans; that the one name 'American' alone is enough to rally to this flag all loyal and generous spirits."

The position of lieutenant-governor is not an easy one for a man of force and confidence in his own abilities. He has certain definite duties which are easily performed, though his responsibilities as chairman of the committee on pardons rest heavily upon a man of sensitive conscience. In the eye of the public, however, he is the man who, second to the governor, represents the Commonwealth at

such public functions as the governor cannot attend.

It is hard, under such circumstances, for a man to show that he has individuality or force. When, as was the case with Mr. Greenhalge, the governor is a man of marked force, decision, energy, and eloquence, the situation is peculiarly difficult.

Fortunately, Mr. Wolcott had such strong personality, such qualities of mind and wide interests, as enabled him to make a position for himself apart from his office. The light official duties gave him time and freedom. He was an intelligent student of American history, a man of culture and ideas, and a speaker of such reputation as always to command an audience. Invitations, therefore, came to him from all parts of the State, and from cities at a distance. In accepting them, he found himself driven to a closer study of certain

features of the history of Massachusetts and her people, he obtained a stronger grasp on many subjects, wider experience, and more poise in public speaking. Through mingling with all kinds of people, he stimulated his social touch, and dropped some of the academic manner which was natural to him, though he never lost that unconscious reserve which commanded the respect of others. There was an added ease and freedom of manner, a token of self-confidence, which gave force to his general bearing. His frame was larger and more stately, though no less graceful. A broader acquaintance with men developed his knowledge of character, and served him in many practical ways a few years later. He had the ambition of every healthy-minded man to make himself felt; he thus took advantage of these opportunities to press home his own deep

convictions on points of citizenship, patriotism, and religion.

When, therefore, he gave the oration at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the town of Manchester, there stood before the audience a man who was to them a representative New Englander, whose character revealed some of the elements that he was depicting.

The oration is characteristic in thought and style. It traced the story of the town in relation to the local and national life from its beginning to the present day. There breathe such vitality and such sympathy with the scenes of history and the character of Massachusetts, as to justify the following ample quotation: —

"John Winthrop was born in the memorable year of the Spanish Armada. Even before his time the supremacy of the world had left the Mediterranean, and was trav-

eling westward. Since then, the destiny of the English-speaking race has marched apace, and though in some far future time God may raise up another race to the leadership of mankind, it seems now probable that for centuries the history of the world will be what the men of our race shall make it. . . .

"How little have the physical features of your town changed since the days of its first settlement! . . . As of old, the cool, salt breath of the ocean is wafted inland to meet the hot, resinous fragrance of the pine forests, which still clothe the rocky ridges to which the shore slopes upward. The magnolia and dogwood still throw out their blossom-laden branches over the bayberry and ferns beneath. On the surface of peaceful pool or sluggish brook the pond-lily opens its exquisite chalice, and, with the falling dusk of evening, folds

again its petals, while the whip-poor-will hurriedly reiterates his monotonous plaint from the neighboring thicket.

"Otter and beaver, it is true, have sought refuge in Canadian brooks, and bear and wolf are no longer a menace to the farmer's flocks. But the little sandpiper tiptoes just in advance of the rippling wave, and perhaps wonders, as he did two hundred and fifty years ago, at the weird music of the singing beach. In autumn, the wild fowl pierce with their wedge-shaped flight the regions of the upper air, or circle downward to some wood-fringed lake to rest on their southward journey. When the storms of winter rage, and the sea mingles its driven spray with the rack of the lowering clouds, the sea-gulls wheel and eddy with the gusts of the tempest, and their complaining cries, accordant with the moaning of the gale, seem fit

requiem to the drowned on Norman's Woe. In her long struggle with man, Nature gives way but slowly, and contests every foot of vantage ground she is forced to yield. . . .

"In these towns of old Essex the sea-captain has been a familiar and venerated figure from the earliest days. In time of war, the deck of the privateer knew the sturdy tread of the men of Essex, as did the fishing-smack and merchantman in time of peace. Hardy and vigorous, they knew the dangers of the deep, and feared them not. Fearless, they faced disaster and death; nor were they appalled even by that mysterious tragedy of the sea, the total disappearance from the ken of man of some vessel which had left port, well-manned and tight, with the sunshine bright upon its straining canvas, the waves laughing in its wake, and the following breeze

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freighted with the prayers of women and the god-speed of men.

"No record, however brief, of these coastwise towns of New England can fail to lay weighty emphasis upon the controlling influence which the neighboring sea exerted upon the lives and characters of their inhabitants. They smacked of the salt as does the breeze that blows over seaweed-covered rocks at low tide. . . . Our Manchester settler heard but little news from the outer world, and read few books. He knew well his Bible, which he read with a stern but exalted faith; he may have had access to the grim theology of Michael Wigglesworth's 'Day of Doom,' or the glowing visions of Johnson's 'Wonder-working Providence,' and from these he may have turned to the more pleasant allegory of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Let us hope that the golden light from

the Delectable Mountains illumined his life of excessive hardship and privation. . . .

"In the long and dubious struggle that was now ushered in, amphibious old Essex played well her part. On land her blood tinged many a battle-field, but it was on the sea that her fame was won. The splendid seamanship, the cool courage, the intelligence, fertile in expedient to meet any peril — these were the qualities shown by her sons wherever American privateer and English war-vessel grappled upon the deep. . . .

"The social and economic problems, which now confound us with their complexity and difficulty, must find their just solution at our hands. The savage strife which, through their mutual fault, too often breaks out between the employer and the employed must cease. The rights

of both must be more clearly defined by law, and enforced by the collective sense of the community. . . .

"How best to reduce to their minimum the colossal evils of intemperance and of other vices demands the wisest legislation, carried into effective operation by officers of the law whose absolute integrity must be assured by whatever safeguards of organization and discipline experience and vigilance can devise. Constant warfare must be waged against those influences of squalor, ignorance, and vice which breed crime, and constant effort exerted to make its punishment such as to give opportunity for reformation. That poverty which, through lack of energy and efficiency, ever tends to produce pauperism must be so touched by the hand of charity as to be stimulated to self-respect and industry. . . .

"The standard of decency and comfort

in the lives and homes of our toiling people must not be lowered. The amazing power of assimilation which American civilization has displayed must not be overtaxed. When entire families of those alien in speech, in habit, and in thought are content to kennel within the bare walls of reeking tenement or contractor's shanty, and to live upon what our own people discard, wholly untouched by the influences which produce the American citizen, they constitute a menace to the community. The rills of immigration which, properly distributed, serve to irrigate and fructify our broad territory, must not be permitted to become a flood that shall swamp the land or sweep it bare of the accumulated soil of centuries. . . .

"We must be exacting, and yet just in our judgments of those who hold public office. Corruption, dishonesty, and cow-

ardice should be sternly dealt with; but gross injustice is often wrought by embittered partisan abuse and the reckless imputation of unworthy motives for acts of which the error at most may be one of judgment only.

"A living and active faith in the great truths of religion is a force for righteousness in a nation, and this faith is not likely to wane in vitality so long as it conforms itself more and more closely to the teachings and life of Christ.

"Public education must be ever broadened in its aims and improved in its methods and results. Forever free from sectarianism, our schools must make luminous to the eye of the young the page of American history, so that even the child of the most recent immigrant may early learn that he has become a citizen of no mean country. . . .

"In this high service let there be a generous emulation among the sister States. Shall our own dear State give backward step from the forefront where she has ever proudly stood in all the long years since your own town had its birth? O stern and mighty cliffs that guard the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and hurl back unshaken the surges of the Atlantic! O waving forests that clothe the hills and clasp in their embrace the embosomed lakes! O broad and fair domain of the old Bay State, stretching from beautiful Berkshire past peaceful village and prosperous city to the glistening sands of Barnstable, and on to historic Nantucket, nursed on ocean's breast! — thy breed of men has never failed thee yet. May they continue to spring from thy loins as we have known them in the past, sturdy, virtuous, and heroic. So for all time may

the prayer go up, not in cringing terror nor pusillanimous supplication, but in the full, strong voice of manly self-reliance, 'God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.' "

Whether in some distant city on Forefathers' Day, or at the dinner of a press club, or a newsboys' association, at a school graduation, or a cattle show, or a board of trade, he always had some appropriate thought in mind, or some practical truth to press home. For instance, to the Good Citizens' Club he said: —

"Public spirit is almost the first of civic virtues. Apathy and indifference to the common weal are almost crimes. Here in America no citizen can wash his hands of his country. He must either make it better, or he will probably make it worse. In religion, in education, and in charity — in one or all of these beneficent agencies

— he can do much to extend their scope and to strengthen their influence.

"In politics his duty is plain and urgent. The man who habitually neglects to vote is a shirk and a renegade. Here it is unhappily not true that we have reached our best either in men or in methods. I care little what a man's opinions may be, if he has formed them intelligently and advances them honorably. Rancorous and unfair vituperation of political opponents, I believe, always wins sympathy and, consequently, votes for the individual or party so attacked. If in all political contentions we remember that we are first Americans and only secondarily Republicans or Democrats, we shall not be in danger of sinking patriotism in partisanship."

At Lexington he appealed to local sentiment: —

"The lesson cannot be repeated too

often that it is not the mere congregation of population, it is not abundant prosperity, that makes a nation, a city, or a town truly great. There are spots here and there throughout the world where the mind is inspired, where the heart is made to beat with a quicker pulse before the eye is inspired with a vision of a noble population or new wealth. I think a lesson that we of this present generation must strive to repeat is this lesson of patriotism — of the loyalty, heroism, hardships endured, and the results achieved by the men who perpetuated the foundations of this nation."

At the Lincoln Republican Club he treated of the relations of the State to corporations: —

"I think that the legislation of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, so far as regards the control of these corporations,

will be found to be progressively in one direction; that is, that without imposing on them such shackles as shall discourage the investment of capital for an honest and reasonable return, and drive that capital to seek investment beyond our Commonwealth, the legislation of Massachusetts is progressively in the direction of exacting from these corporations a full and abundant equivalent for the great rights and privileges that are accorded them."

At a Republican club dinner he said: —

"The only permanent safeguard for the honesty of our legislators is the character of the men whom the several constituencies select. To that let us all, of whatever party, pledge ourselves."

In speaking at the New England Society in Philadelphia on Forefathers' Day, 1897, he said: —

"It is a poor and careless optimism

which would close its eye to evils in our body politic and in society, which those sturdy men of the earlier time would have cut out, though the surgery might be grim and pitiless. It is a weak and impotent cynicism, which had no place in their conception of public duty, that seeing those evils would succumb to their dominance in indifference or despair. As in the past, so in the future, may the Republic never lack in her sons something of the indomitable spirit of the Puritan, his fidelity to conscience and to duty, his faith in God and in man, his stern righteousness and downright honesty — for of such qualities are made up brave manhood and loyal citizenship."

In the midsummer there was pitched a great tent on Boston Common for the convention of the Christian Endeavor Society. Some ten thousand people gathered

within and outside its curtains to hear the opening address of the lieutenant-governor of the Commonwealth. The air was electric with religious and patriotic emotion. The strangers were captured first by the bearing of Mr. Wolcott as he stood to speak; then as he kindled in response, and spoke with fervor, directness, and power, the whole audience arose and cheered to the echo.

"Christian Endeavor! I know of no two words in the English language that are more freighted with deep significance. The spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ, the spirit which finds its truest expression in the mandate, 'Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you,' that divine spirit, inspired and put into active operation by the noble endeavor and earnest effort of men: I know of no title that you could have chosen that could be more

heavily weighted with blessing and divine inspiration than those two words."

The speech made a profound impression on the multitude; the secret of the power was not so much, however, in the speech as in the revelation of the man, a high official, and, at the same time, so simple, so direct, so transfigured with the spirit of Christian service.

Now and again we catch the refrain that was his constant inspiration, the memory of his brother Huntington.

Memorial Day was to him full of sacred associations. As he spoke at the Wolcott Post on that day, in 1895, he said: —

"Historians have drawn attention to the surprising youth of most of those brave and far-seeing men who were the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Youth saw more clearly and dared more than age. In like manner, as we

read the story of the heroes of '61, we are amazed to note how many of them had lived long lives of achievement, of suffering, and of responsibility before they were twenty-five. In that fierce fire of experience the dross was burned away: boys became men, and men became heroes. . . . Such was he whose name your Post bears. It was no mere love of adventure, no boyish impulse which claimed his young life. It was rather that deliberate, firm resolve which, from century to century, has taken possession of men of the Anglo-Saxon race, and has led them to say, 'This thing is worth fighting for, and by God's blessing we will win it;' and when they have said this, whether at Runnymede, or Marston Moor, or Bunker Hill, or Gettysburg, they are irresistible. He had counted the cost and was ready to pay it. And so he died at a little over nineteen years,

high-minded, pure, and fearless, a willing sacrifice to country and humanity."

On the 5th of March, 1896, Governor Greenhalge died, and, on the next day, the lieutenant-governor, having formally announced his death to the legislature, assumed the duties of governor. It is an interesting coincidence that, just a century before, in the year 1796, Oliver Wolcott, then lieutenant-governor of Connecticut, announced to President Washington that, in consequence of the death of Governor Samuel Huntington, he had entered upon the duties of the office of governor.

Mr. Wolcott's association with Governor Greenhalge had been so close and harmonious that it was easy for him to take up the details of administration. One bill before the legislature, giving the Massachusetts Pipe Line Company power to make and distribute gas, had attracted

much public notice. Attention was called by a part of the press to the fact that extraordinary and unsafe powers were to be granted by the State. Nevertheless, the bill passed the legislature. It promised cheaper gas, and was supported by strong influence. In returning it with his veto, the acting governor pointed out the remarkable privileges granted, the injustice of the provisions of the bill towards towns, cities, and citizens, and the lack of power on the part of the State to enforce the promises of the promoters. He said: —

"Experience has demonstrated that unrestricted competition by public-service corporations, although the temporary results may make cheaper prices to the public, seldom accomplishes any permanent good. The public must eventually pay the bills.

"I can see no permanent advantage to the community in arming this company with a club, by which it may strike down those already in the field. Temporarily it may cheapen prices; indeed, it must do so, or promise to do so, that it may strike them down; but the history of such competition demonstrates that it is the public that suffers. . . .

"In my opinion, it is not justice to vested rights, nor sound business policy, nor for the interests of the public, to authorize the discriminations which this bill proposes to establish, especially without assurance by actual demonstration or sufficient guarantee that the public benefit which could alone justify them must ensue."

He suggested certain changes which would make the bill safe and just. His veto was sustained, his suggestions were

adopted, and the bill was passed and signed.

The people again recognized in Mr. Wolcott a wise and just official, alert to protect their rights.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNOR

IN the summer of 1896, the presidential election was approaching. There was a great contrast between the situation then and in 1892, when Mr. Wolcott was elected lieutenant-governor to Governor Russell.

During his second term, Mr. Cleveland had been unable to hold his party together; the hard times had developed the forces of silver and populism. On the other hand, better financial prospects had given courage to the advocates of gold.

The Republican party went into the

campaign pledged to gold, with Mr. McKinley, of the Middle West, whose name was associated with high tariff, as the presidential candidate. The Democrats by their action made the issue clear. They selected Mr. Bryan, the champion of silver, as their standard-bearer, and in addition to the silver plank put into their platform resolutions upon the Supreme Court and the constitutional power of the executive that shocked the country and caused a recoil against populism. It was one of the critical elections in the national history. The campaign was fortunately marked by very little vituperation, and by much reasonable and intelligent discussion. In Massachusetts, the Republicans were sure to win: the question was by how great a majority.

Mr. Wolcott, who had filled the office of lieutenant-governor so acceptably, was

unanimously nominated for governor, and took an active part in the campaign.

"I believe," he said, at a ratification meeting, "that in this great struggle which confronts us now, there will be thousands of honor-Democrats who will refuse to imperil the financial honor of the United States, to follow the motley crowd that has led the way into the Cave of Adullam."

The title "honor-Democrats" went through the press of the country.

Upon his acceptance of the nomination at the state convention, he appealed to all citizens of Massachusetts by the honorable record of the State.

"I should like, gentlemen," he said, "to take only a moment of your time to rehearse to you a little of the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I wish the Republicans and the Democrats alike

of Massachusetts to know what has been the position of this Commonwealth as regards meeting every obligation with the highest and most complete honor. During the years between the suspension of specie payments and the resumption of specie payments, in the years between 1862 and 1879, all the debt of the Commonwealth contracted previous to, and paid during that period, was made payable in dollars simply, and by the Legal Tender Act might have been paid legally and without question in greenbacks. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts declined to avail herself of this advantage. The debt of Massachusetts was paid in gold. It amounted to $5,924,000. And adding the war loan of $3,505,000, which was made payable in lawful money of the United States, we have a total of $9,429,000 voluntarily paid in gold, when it might legally have been

paid in greenbacks. Not only that, gentlemen, but of the foregoing debt, nearly one million dollars was issued by the Commonwealth in aid of domestic corporations, they agreeing to pay interest as it became due, and the principal at its maturity; but they, availing themselves of their technical agreement, in which they were sustained by the courts of Massachusetts, paid to the Commonwealth currency only, while the Commonwealth in all her obligations paid principal and interest in gold. How much did it cost the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to preserve her honor? The premium alone paid in the purchase of gold to meet these obligations amounted to $3,703,556.

"So much did our fathers pay to preserve the honor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and I venture to say that no expenditure ever made by this Com-

monwealth was more wise and more far-seeing than that expenditure that I have referred to."

The success of the Republicans was beyond all expectations. In Massachusetts, Mr. Wolcott, leading the ticket, swept every city and town (except one) in the State. He was elected by a much greater majority than that ever before given to a governor of Massachusetts. His vote was 258,204. The vote for all other candidates was 126,860. His native city of Boston, which had gone Democratic for years, gave him a great majority. This result was not only a victory for party and principle, but was also a personal tribute and an expression of confidence in his past administration.

During the next three years, Mr. Wolcott gave himself with characteristic devotion and conscientiousness to the duties of

his high office. Apart from the war with Spain, there were no exceptional incidents, no radical reforms or marked movements: none were called for. There were, however, improvements made at several points, especially in the care of the insane, and the administration of the public institutions.

With the development of the Commonwealth, the tendency to centralization, and the increasing power and responsibility of the executive, the office of governor becomes more and more important, laborious, and intricate. Many interests come to the State House, such as insurance, water, sewerage, police, railroads, trolley lines, municipal government, and parks, which were almost unknown there a generation ago. The business interests are large.

In fact, the real work of the governor

is chiefly that of which the people hear nothing, — the routine of administration, the conferences in the executive chamber, the careful selection of state officers, and the adjustment of the different departments whereby friction is avoided and the whole administration made to run smoothly.

There are, however, certain acts or incidents, sometimes unimportant in themselves, of a personal kind which catch the public eye, and are really important on account of the weight that is given them by the people.

We will glance over the record of the three years, first as it caught the people's attention.

The day of Governor Wolcott's inauguration was brilliant without and within the State House. There was that about him which always interested the people in his

official acts. By his dignity and grace he gave distinction to a function of which he was the centre. The hall of the House, in which the whole general court, the justices and other officers of the Commonwealth were gathered, was unusually crowded: the galleries were bright with the company of ladies. His mother, wife, and five children, his college classmates and friends were there. It was a day of reasonable joy and pride to the governor. His studies of Massachusetts history had given him a high conception of the office; his ancestors had graced the same position in Connecticut. The name of Roger Wolcott was already historic in the annals of New England. No other motive had brought him there than a desire to serve the people; he had come by no other path than that through which his own conscience and high ideals had led him. He

had served the State as a private citizen and in various offices; now the people who knew him had placed him there by the greatest vote ever given to a governor of Massachusetts. His satisfaction was none other than that which comes to any honorable public officer, but there was in the minds of all present something peculiarly happy, fortunate, and brilliant in the life of Roger Wolcott.

His first inaugural message, as were his later ones, was businesslike, direct, and clear. As a Democratic paper said the next day, there was "not a whisper of party politics."

He called attention to the increase of the state debt, and even though more prosperous times were at hand, asked for care in expenditure; he noted and approved the tendency towards consolidation of interests in the metropolitan dis-

trict of Boston; he urged restriction in the number of liquor saloons.

He pressed the point that street railways should pay for their franchises, but that in return the rights of the corporation should be made secure. He closed with the warning, "The volume of legislation is a poor criterion of its necessity or wisdom."

The reference to the limitation of licensed saloons suggests a subject which caused him much thought. The police commissioners of the city of Boston, who are responsible for the licensing of saloons, are appointed by the governor. It was a general characteristic of Mr. Wolcott that, when he had once approved a commission or appointed men to official positions, he would leave them free and thus hold them responsible for the efficient conduct of their office. It required much time and evidence to convince him that the condi-

tions were such that he should interfere; but when he was convinced he never shirked the responsibility, but himself took hold and made his position clear.

In the granting of licenses there is always room for high-minded and efficient officers to disagree as to the wisdom of this or that action or as to the interpretation of the law. Governor Wolcott was convinced not only that the people of Boston wanted a strict enforcement of the laws, but also that in certain districts they wished no saloons. He did not think that because of this, saloons should be multiplied in other districts, especially among the poor. He had occasion, therefore, publicly to call the attention of the commission to these points several times in strong terms.

In the winter of 1897 rumors appeared in the papers against the official integrity of the chairman of the board; even formal

charges were made that he had had such business relations with liquor dealers as to compromise his official influence if not his honesty.

The chairman had been a gallant general in the war, a mayor of Boston, and had shown himself active and efficient in the enforcement of the laws. The charges were such and the evidence so strong as to warrant the governor in asking immediately for his resignation on the ground that his official usefulness was gone. Many wise friends of the governor felt that he ought to take sharp action, and many citizens thought it weak and injurious to public morals for him to delay.

In his action here Mr. Wolcott showed the judicial temper so characteristic of him. Although he could think quickly on his feet, he was slow in his decision of knotty questions. He gave each point

careful consideration. Such an attitude suggested to some minds weakness and indecision. At times he seemed to be over-conscientious, too ready to look on all sides, and too judicial for strong leadership. Mr. Wolcott appreciated the high character that the chairman had hitherto borne, he knew that a great many people still trusted him, that he was also a prominent Democrat; above all he felt that the chairman, even though his official influence was gone, had a right to be heard and to meet his accusers. The result was a long and painful hearing. The governor, having looked upon all sides, made his own decision, wrote it with great care and exactness with his own hand, and on the evidence given by the chairman himself, recommended his removal. The popular sympathy for the chairman was so strong that Mr. Wolcott in preparing his

verdict believed that it would meet with general disapproval. As he handed the paper to his wife when he had written the last word, he said, "Do you want to see my political death-warrant?"

The council refused to concur. The chairman remained in office to the end of his term. The governor had, however, by his action escaped the charge of injustice, and had shown himself wise and appreciative of the dignity of public office, and the sober second thought of the people, enforced by the cogency of Mr. Wolcott's reasoning, affirmed the justice of his cause.

The refusal of the council to concur prompted some members of the legislature to present a bill giving the governor absolute power of removal of police commissioners. Mr. Wolcott, however, said publicly: —

"I have in many speeches expressed my high appreciation of the usefulness of the executive council, and my belief that it should be retained as an important and valuable portion of our constitutional government.

"I believe fully in the requirement that nominations made by the governor shall receive the consent of the council.

"I have many times said in public that in the matter of removals there is in my mind more doubt. The tendency in the more recent municipal charters is to give the sole power of removal to the mayor, and I think the governors of Massachusetts can be as safely intrusted with this power as the mayors of her cities.

"There are both advantages and disadvantages likely to follow such absolute power of removal, and, in my opinion, these should be deliberately and carefully

weighed by the legislature at some other time than the closing weeks of the legislative session, and when their action may embody principles and not be due to the exigency of an individual case."

He illustrated his sensitiveness to official dignity again in publicly rebuking a state commission for allowing their employees to lobby against a bill which would withdraw some powers from the commission. The talk of the papers about "irresponsible commissions" ceased during the official term of Governor Wolcott.

After the death of Governor Greenhalge, Mr. Wolcott was enabled for a time to escape many of the public functions and social events which draw upon an official's strength. As time passed, these engagements increased. The routine of his office occupied the day, the evenings were often spent in public engagements, or, as the

close of the legislative session drew near, at work upon official business.

A few historic incidents, however, relieved the monotony and again enabled the people to recognize the brilliant personality of the governor.

At the dedication of Grant's tomb in New York in April, 1897, the great procession included the civil and military representatives of the States. It was a bitter day, and the wind swept down the Hudson. Those who saw Governor Wolcott will never forget the sight. Well mounted, dressed with the severe simplicity of the governor of Massachusetts, — a black frock coat and tall hat, — with no gilt or gay caparison to call attention to him or to detract from his radiant beauty, he sat in the saddle for hours in that bitter wind, waiting the command to move. Then, as he and his staff swept up the

avenue and broke from the rolling cloud of dust into the sight of the people, the flash of his white hair, the flush of his face, and the brilliancy of the whole man moved the multitude, and there burst forth such a shout as would in other ages have welcomed home a Crusader. For to the people, even those who knew not his name or office, he seemed to represent the beauty and glory of the knighthood of America.

On the 26th of May an interesting historic scene was enacted at the State House. The officials of the Commonwealth, with the senate and house, met in the hall of representatives. At the hands of Mr. Bayard, late ambassador to England, the governor received the original manuscript of "The Log of the Mayflower," which, at the time of the Revolution, had mysteriously disappeared from

the Old South Meeting House, — a manuscript which, fifty years later, had been discovered in the library of Fulham Palace, London, and which, by the courtesy of the Bishop of London, was hereafter to rest in the capitol of the Old Bay State. Governor Wolcott said: —

"There are places and objects so intimately associated with the world's greatest men, or with mighty deeds, that the soul of him who gazes upon them is lost in a sense of reverent awe, as it listens to the voice that speaks from the past in words like those which came from the burning bush: 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'

"On the sloping hillside of Plymouth, that bathes its feet in the waters of the Atlantic, such a voice is breathed by the brooding genius of the place, and the ear

must be dull that fails to catch the whispered words. For here not alone did godly men and women suffer greatly for a great cause, but their noble purpose was not doomed to defeat, but was carried to perfect victory. They established what they planned. Their feeble plantation became the birthplace of religious liberty, the cradle of a free Commonwealth. To them a mighty nation owns its debt. Nay, they have made the civilized world their debtor. In the varied tapestry which pictures our national life, the richest spots are those where gleam the golden threads of conscience, courage, and faith, set in the web by that little band. May God in his mercy grant that the moral impulse which founded this nation may never cease to control its destiny; that no act of any future generation may put in peril the fundamental principles on which it is

based, — of equal rights in a free state, equal privileges in a free church, and equal opportunities in a free school.

"In this precious volume which I hold in my hands — the gift of England to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts — is told the noble, simple story 'of Plimoth Plantation.' In the midst of suffering and privation and anxiety, the pious hand of William Bradford here set down in ample detail the history of the enterprise from its inception to the year 1647. From him we may learn that 'all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages.'"

Five days later was unveiled the monument to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. Standing as it does, a noble work of art, opposite the State House, from the steps

of which Governor Andrew reviewed the colored regiment as it passed, and representing a crisis in the history of civilization, its unveiling was worthy of honor. In the procession were the officials of the State, the militia, the veterans of the Civil War, past members of Shaw's regiment, led by his lieutenant-colonel, and including the color-sergeant who carried the flag at Fort Wagner. In the Music Hall the governor represented the Commonwealth, and as presiding officer said: —

"We are here to commemorate not only a gallant, noble death, not alone the gallant deaths of those who fell side by side with Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, but an epoch in the history of a race. On the blood-stained earthworks at Fort Wagner, a race was called into manhood."

The centennial celebration of the erection of the State House had peculiar inter-

est, for at that time was rededicated the Bulfinch front.

The commission having in charge the extension of the State House had recommended that the whole building, the dome and façade, be demolished, and that a fireproof building be erected conforming with the architecture of the extension. This aroused the sentiment of a great many citizens. Active work for the preservation of the Bulfinch front was undertaken. The legislature was convinced that it could be made fireproof, and a bill was passed to carry out the plan. The work was completed, and one hundred years from the time of its erection, the Bulfinch front assumed within and without its original form. The officers of the State met with the legislature, and the governor addressed them as follows: —

"We are met in joint assemblage of

the two branches of the General Court, and in the presence of the governor and council, to rededicate to the public use of the Commonwealth the stately and beautiful edifice which was, one hundred years ago, in the eloquent words of Governor Sumner, dedicated to the honor, freedom, independence, and security of our country. Since then it has been the State House of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Its walls have resounded to the tread, and have echoed the words of statesmen, soldiers, jurists, and men of affairs, who have had their share in the fame of the Commonwealth. Here have been enacted the laws which have made Massachusetts an example and a leader to the other States of the Union. Whatsoever pride its people may feel in their citizenship, in large measure finds its source within these

halls. For a century this building has symbolized the dignity and majesty of the Commonwealth.

"Its cornerstone was laid by Samuel Adams, the great popular leader of the Revolutionary period, and by Paul Revere, skillful mechanic and immortal patriot. Its design was the work of Charles Bulfinch, the foremost architect of his time in America, and it stands to-day his most worthy monument.

"Either as an owner of the site, or as official occupants of the structure, every one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence from the colony of Massachusetts Bay held close relation with this building. Here presidents of the United States, from James Monroe to Ulysses S. Grant, have been received and entertained with the honor due their exalted office, and the character and achievement which

they brought to the performance of its arduous duties. Here Webster has spoken, and Everett and Choate and Sumner, and many another with lesser fame who yet has deserved well of the Republic. Here, in honored death, lay a vice-president of the United States, and a senator of the Commonwealth who had dared and suffered in her cause. Here have acted and labored the long line of my predecessors in office, who have made the title of governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts one of the most honored in the nation. Here John A. Andrew gave his heart's blood to the cause of union and nationality. From yonder steps have marched to death or victory the gallant youth of the State, ready to give their lives to a great cause. Here, year by year, have successive legislatures patiently wrought to embody in the statutes of the

Commonwealth the fundamental principles laid down in the Constitution.

"These halls are eloquent with the presence of the great dead. They speak to us with the compelling voice of the past, and bid us be not unworthy of the trust it has imposed. May we meet the problems of the present with the spirit which inspired our fathers, and may we dedicate ourselves anew to the maintenance of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; so may God bless us of this generation as he has hitherto blessed the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

At the Commencement of Williams College, in 1897, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws.

As the year closed there was evident satisfaction throughout the State with the administration. The Boston "Post" ex-

pressed the feeling: "Governor Wolcott has made a good governor. He has made a pretty good governor according to the Democratic standards. He has shown great ability and fearlessness in standing by the interests of the people of the State."

At the election of 1897 Mr. Wolcott, who had been renominated, received the largest majority ever given a governor of Massachusetts, except his own the year before, and he again carried the city of Boston.

The war with Spain so engrossed the attention of the people as well as the governor that little else than routine work in legislation was done.

The following year he again received a heavy plurality, and again carried Boston. As it is a tradition that a governor of Massachusetts should serve only three years, Mr. Wolcott's love for Massachu-

setts prompted him to break through the businesslike character of his inaugural and close with these words: —

"Gentlemen of the senate and house of representatives: . . . In all their deliberations, and in all their official acts, the executive and the legislature alike will do well to remember that they are adding to the history of a State which, for more than two and three-quarters centuries, has written her name large and fair on the record which tells of lofty aspiration and honorable citizenship. During this lengthening period the Commonwealth has maintained a pure and learned judiciary, which has administered justice without discrimination between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the humble; as she was the first to acknowledge the duty of the State freely to educate all her children, so she has ever with wise liberality promoted the

general diffusion of knowledge; to all she has extended freedom of religious belief and the equal protection of her laws in the public worship of God; in war her sons have never failed to show resolute purpose and unflinching courage; in peace her statesmen have possessed the clear vision which reads the coming future, and her citizens, through industry and enterprise, have attained a degree of general prosperity scarcely equaled among the peoples of the earth; her homes have been virtuous, her people contented; her poets and historians have made honorable the fame of American letters; her inventions and discoveries have aided to revolutionize industry, and to make comfortable the lives of those who toil; from generation to generation she has kept aflame a beacon light of intelligence and high purpose, which has carried into many dark places

the illumination of humanity and civilization.

"Such is the Commonwealth whose public and trusted servants we are. Such is the lustre of her fame, which is in our power to tarnish or to transmit with its full radiance undimmed. In serving the common weal we serve the Commonwealth. May our service be worthy of her great past and of her greater future."

The three acts most worthy of record in the routine of the executive were all done in protection of the people's rights.

In the original Subway Act, it was required that the West End Railroad should take up the surface tracks on Tremont Street. This the road had done. A bill was before the legislature empowering the road to re-lay the tracks. The pressure was very strong upon the governor to sign the bill, if it should pass. He had

made up his mind that, if the bill passed without clauses for a referendum and for compensation for use of streets, he would veto it. It would have been natural and more in harmony with the traditions of the office for the governor to veto the bill after its passage. Feeling, however, that valuable time would be wasted and that it would be better for all interested to know his mind, he told the supporters of the bill the conditions on which alone it would have his signature. The clauses were inserted, the bill signed, and in the referendum vote the movement to re-lay the tracks was heavily defeated.

On several other occasions he anticipated legislation in a similar way, and aroused thereby some criticism. It was thought to be an interference with freedom of legislation. His action was entirely informal. In view of the increase in the

volume of business before the legislature, the value of time, and the inadvisability of allowing long discussion on measures which, with some change, might avoid a veto, he felt it to be one of the reasonable movements in administration that must come. Since his day, experience in national and state legislation has shown that his surmise was correct. Expedition of business requires closer understanding between the executive and the legislative bodies. The fear of a veto is sometimes as effective as a veto, and often more useful.

A bill passed the legislature, supported by representatives of the trades-unions, exempting the unions from making returns to the insurance commissioner. When the bill came to the governor it was clear that the labor organizations would make it an issue as to his sympathy with them.

The governor in his veto message lifted the subject above partisan considerations when he wrote: —

"It has long been the policy of this Commonwealth carefully to guard the business of insurance which it permits to be conducted within its limits. The various statutes relating to the method of conducting this important business are not intended unnecessarily to hamper or control it, but solely to protect the rights of the insured, who, as experience has shown, without such protection would often be subjected to serious loss. I see no good reason why wage-workers should be deprived of the benefits or denied the protection of these salutary laws. If the bill now under consideration should become a law, it would remove all statutory restrictions whatsoever from the class of associations described therein, and consequently

deprive the members of such associations of every safeguard which the wisdom of the legislature has imposed on all other persons conducting a similar business."

The third instance was his veto of a bill giving the veterans of the Spanish War preference over civilians in the public service: —

"And yet the veterans of the Civil War," he said, "neither asked nor received statutory preference over civilians in the public employ until the lapse of nineteen years from the close of the strife, and the preference then accorded was only to be given 'other qualities being equal.' Eleven years later these words were stricken out, and the absolute preference was first enacted. . . . I have yet to learn that any considerable number of the soldiers of this war have expected or asked for more. I should feel that I were doing them dishonor if I

believed that the expectation of such preferment to public office as is provided in this bill entered into the motives which prompted their enlistment, or that the desire for it was general so soon after the close of their honorable service."

The varied interests of the State of Massachusetts demand of the governor the abilities and habits of a business man. Mr. Wolcott inherited business habits and had a good general knowledge of commercial interests. He was conscientious and intelligent in the details of his office. He knew the worth of proper accounting and a clear financial statement. He was prompt and exact himself. He met his engagements, often at the risk of his health or at much sacrifice of his own convenience. In coming to a decision upon matters of state, and in seeking the advice of others, he never revealed by his questions

or conversation in what direction his judgment was moving; and, until his decision was announced, his closest friends knew not what it would be.

An essential talent in an administrator is that of judging correctly of men's abilities and characters, and their fitness for certain positions, and in public service of getting the best men to accept office.

In selecting men for office Mr. Wolcott was very careful in his inquiries. He distrusted letters about men; so much so, indeed, that in his correspondence there is hardly a letter upon that subject. He trusted to individual research through friends, to incidental conversation, and to a personal acquaintance with the man. In this way he reënforced a good instinctive knowledge of character. There were, at rare intervals, appointments which wise

friends criticised. Mr. Wolcott had, however, the faculty of keeping men at their best, and encouraging the finer elements of their character. Like every public officer he suffered from his inability to get the men of his first choice to serve: not so much so, however, as most administrators, for there was such attractiveness and enthusiasm about him that men who came into his presence determined to refuse office fell before his persuasion and appeals to public duty.

In making appointments, his first and last interest was the public service. He appreciated the traditional rights of parties, the necessity of harmonious political relations in certain departments, and the advisability of considering the requests of politicians when they urged good and efficient men who were also politically useful. He took no interest in appointments

for the sake of political advantage, and frankly opposed any use of the public service for appointees unworthy of the position.

"These fellows do not understand that such peanut politics is the most short-sighted policy for the party itself, let alone the cause of good government," he would say as he paced up and down the room. "The people can't be hoodwinked. Give them time, and they will discover which party is best administering the State."

He fully appreciated, nevertheless, the worth of party organization and political work. He had the wisdom to trust the management and the details of the organization to those who had undertaken them, and unless the administration of the party transgressed some moral principle, he followed it loyally.

Because he was of this temper, and

because, much as he believed in political parties, he had little interest in the machinery of the organization, many people called him a poor politician. He always had an eye, not so much to the present as to the future welfare of his party; he had the statesman's prophetic vision. And confiding as he did in the good sense and honesty of the people, he knew that frank and high-minded action would in time win their approval. He wanted the people to know his mind: sometimes he seemed unnecessarily frank. At the state convention of 1896 the question of biennial state elections was a local issue. The party was divided on the subject; the committee on resolutions, fearing an uncomfortable debate in convention, had quietly slipped that plank out of the platform. The resolutions were read; Mr. Wolcott was nominated and escorted to

the platform, when to the dismay of the politicians on both sides he spoke out his conviction in favor of biennial elections. He wanted them and the Commonwealth to know just where he stood. Unwise from a short-sighted point of view, it was the wisdom of a sincere man, for the people saw that he was one in whose perfect transparency they could trust. In short, his whole political life was one instinctive appeal behind party, politicians, and the machine to the intelligence and heart of the people. Men were surprised again and again that he was such a vote-getter. It was because in Massachusetts there was no political machine powerful enough to distort or suppress the sentiments of the people. They voted as they felt. In voting for Roger Wolcott they felt that he was one of them: his strength was their strength; through him their

authority was expressed and their rights were vindicated.

Mr. Wolcott was fortunate in the time in which he came to the front. The year of his election as governor was a great Republican year. With all allowance for his good fortune, however, one cannot but marvel at the change in Massachusetts political parties from the time when Cleveland and Russell swept the State, and when Russell swept the State without Cleveland, to the period of the great popular support of Roger Wolcott during the seven years of his administration. He was fortunate in the conditions. The question may well be asked, however, whether he did not have something to do with the creation of the conditions, and whether the spirit expressed in his first Republican Club speech did not do much to open the way for him and his party to walk in.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

THE incidents leading to the outbreak of the Spanish War are too recent to require narration. Even the youth of the country recall the rising indignation of the people at the cruel treatment of Cuba by Spain, the destruction of the Maine, and the anxious suspense of the following weeks. The efforts of the administration towards a peaceful settlement, the debates in Congress, and the pressure of an angry people are fresh in all memories.

Mr. Wolcott's sympathies were with the President in his efforts to use every honorable means to avert the war. He counseled

patience and self-restraint. Conscious, however, that war might come, he was advising with his military staff, conferring with the War Department at Washington, and doing everything possible without public knowledge to prepare the militia for immediate service.

As early as December, 1897, four months before war was declared, the work of preparation was begun. On January 15 an order was issued requiring all militia organizations at armory inspections to appear equipped as if for two days' field duty. Commanding officers were perfecting themselves for active service. As the War Department at Washington said that they were unable to furnish supplies and equipment, these were sought for in many directions, so that if the emergency should come and an appropriation be made, they could be immediately obtained.

On the 29th of March resolutions declaring war with Spain and recognizing the independence of Cuba were introduced into both houses of Congress.

On the 11th of April the President, having become convinced that the resources of diplomacy were unavailing to alter the conditions in Cuba, asked Congress to give him power to intervene in behalf of the nation.

On the 15th of April, Governor Wolcott sent this special message to the legislature: —

"*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives*: —

"In the present grave and threatening conditions of the relations of the government of the United States with the kingdom of Spain, growing out of the inhuman and unavailing warfare in the island of Cuba, I deem that the time has come when

it is my duty to ask that your honorable bodies place in my hands the means to enable me to meet with promptness and efficiency whatever demands the exigencies of possible war may require the national government to make upon the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"Whenever, in the past, heroism and sacrifice in a just cause have been demanded, Massachusetts has generously given of her blood and treasure. She will not falter now.

"I ask that $500,000, or such part thereof as may be necessary, may be appropriated to be expended under the direction of the commander-in-chief, in defraying the military and naval expenses which the existing emergency may render requisite and proper."

Within twenty-five minutes of the time that the message had left the governor's

hand, it had been passed unanimously in each house, engrossed, carried back to the executive chamber, and approved by the governor.

Such action was typical of the promptness with which the Commonwealth met every call upon her in the nation's war against Spain. It was typical also of the confidence which she reposed in her chief magistrate. Said Mr. Wolcott, at the end of the war, in referring to this incident, "I consider the ready confidence of the legislature of Massachusetts, without regard to party, as one of the great honors of my life."

On the 19th of April the resolution asked for by the President passed Congress, and on the 23d a call was issued for one hundred and twenty-five thousand troops. On April 25 war was declared by Congress. On the next day, the First

Massachusetts Heavy Artillery Regiment, equipped for war, marched through Boston to garrison Fort Warren. As in 1861, so now Massachusetts had the first state troops immediately available for national defense.

A new generation had come to manhood since in the sixties the regiments, after review by the governor, had passed through Boston to the seat of war. The men and women in whose memories those scenes were but as yesterday were rekindled with enthusiasm as they heard the tramp of the soldiers, and the sound of the fife and drum; and the youth who had been bred to stories of the last war were alert to catch sight of the first regiment.

Standing on the State House steps, whence Governor Andrew had reviewed the troops, was Governor Wolcott, sup-

ported by his staff, and behind them a company of officials and ladies. Gratified as he was that Massachusetts should have responded so promptly to his call, there was a touch of personal pride in the hearts of himself and Mrs. Wolcott, for in the ranks of Battery A marched their oldest son, Roger, who, the evening before, had enlisted for service. Neither then nor later in the war did the governor give his son a commission, for his son's wish coincided with his own that he should go forth like other patriots, in the ranks.

The whole city seemed to pour into the streets. Up Beacon Street the regiment marched, and as they passed the State House, the governor bared his head. Down State Street to the dock they tramped amidst the cheers of the people.

The incident is worthy of record for its significance: the loyalty of Boston and

the State to the nation in her time of trial, and their prompt response to her call.

It is difficult for us, since the Spanish navy was so easily destroyed, to recall the nervousness and fear that ran along the New England coast lest Spanish cruisers should appear in the offing and bombard the cities. That their securities and valuables might be removed at the approach of danger, bankers and other citizens rented boxes in the safe deposit vaults of Worcester. One bank in that city increased its number of boxes under the pressure. Summer cottages could not be rented, and solid citizens looked anxious as they discussed the possibility of the destruction of their buildings and property. Mayors and selectmen appealed to the governor for protection and fortifications.

In response to a letter of inquiry from the governor, the Secretary of the Navy

wrote that the War Department considered Boston well protected, and that for the defense of other ports on the Massachusetts coast, a deep-sea patrol was being organized. He added, —

"While, therefore, I do not think that the coast of Massachusetts will be in much danger from privateers or Spanish men-of-war, I do think it would be well to throw up earthworks at the most exposed points, the guns to be mounted and handled by the state militia."

The governor and his military council had been anxiously waiting for orders or instructions about the troops from the War Department, but up to April 25 none had been received. Meanwhile, citizens were volunteering their services, and others were importuning him for commissions for themselves, their sons, or their friends.

On the evening of the 25th, a telegram was received from the Secretary of War, stating that the number of troops required from Massachusetts under the call of the President, of April 25, would be four regiments of infantry, and three heavy batteries of artillery, and adding: —

"It is the wish of the President that the regiments of the national guard or state militia shall be used as far as their numbers will permit, for the reason that they are armed, equipped, and drilled. Please wire as early as possible what equipment, ammunition, arms, blankets, tents, etc., you have, and what additions you will require.

"Please also state when troops will be ready for muster into the United States service. Details to follow by mail."

The answer of the governor was immediate: —

"Four regiments infantry, and three batteries artillery ready for immediate service. For infantry, sufficient equipment, ammunition, arms, blankets, and tents on hand; same for heavy artillery, except that we have no heavy guns or ammunition."

Information came to the governor that some of the officers and privates of the militia regiments, in their desire to enlist, would leave the militia service and enlist in the regular army, and there was danger that the organized militia now ready for service would be broken up. There was also a feeling that, as the militia regiments had entered the militia for state service, they could not fairly be called upon to enlist as a body for national service.

As he could get no definite instructions from the War Department, and as mem-

bers of his staff were told by the officials at Washington that the Massachusetts troops would be used for coast defense, the governor, by the advice of his military council, issued, on April 25, the following statement: —

"In view of the possibility that an important theatre of war may be on or near the New England coast, and that a number of troops substantially equal to the present militia force of the Commonwealth will be necessary for the coast defense in Massachusetts, I am advised by the council of officers to make public announcement of my opinion that it would be detrimental to the efficiency of the service to encourage or permit the depletion or disintegration of existing organizations by wholesale enlistments of officers or commands in the service of the United States.

"If, as is probable, an additional number of volunteers is called for beyond the present force of the militia, this number should, in my judgment, be made up in large measure by new enlistments of patriotic citizens, not at present connected with organizations, although opportunities should also be open to individual members of the militia to volunteer, subject to a proper consideration of the welfare of the State. Any member of the militia desiring so to volunteer should make application for discharge to his commanding officer, and await favorable action thereon. His place in the militia should then be filled by enlistment. The defense of the coast line of this Commonwealth is a necessary and honorable service, which should be loyally performed by all on whom the duty devolves, and should not be made secondary to any service else-

where, however patriotic the motives which might influence such action, unless in obedience to definite orders from Washington. The Commonwealth will respond promptly and enthusiastically to any call for volunteers which may be made, and believes that in maintaining the efficiency of her military organizations for coast defense, she is acting in accordance with the wishes and purposes of the national government."

The motive of the statement was immediately misunderstood. It was interpreted by some people in Washington as a notice to the administration that Massachusetts would take care of herself first and of the nation afterwards. The Massachusetts senators and representatives met and sent a telegram to the governor, urging him to fill up the quota of Massachusetts and leave the protection of the coast to the

government. The governor telegraphed to Senator Lodge: —

"Am informed there may be some misunderstanding as to the statement made by me regarding the use of state militia on our coast. I think a careful reading of statement makes meaning clear. Any and all definite orders from Washington for existing regiments or new regiments for service out of the State will be promptly obeyed. If existing regiments are left within the State for coast defense, their organization must be maintained, opportunity to be given for enlistment of individuals from militia for service elsewhere, but not of commands. No definite orders of any description yet received."

The next day the governor publicly said: —

"Any idea that the government of the Commonwealth has had an intention of

antagonizing the national government in the matter of furnishing our quota of men for the war is entirely a mistaken one, and, I think, due to careless reading of my original statement. My position is simply this: I think our militia should be kept intact until it is specifically called for by the national government, and that it should not be allowed to disintegrate through the enlistment of any considerable number of its members in the regular army. My reason for making the statement that seems to have caused so much comment was that I had been told that many members of the militia, in some cases whole companies, contemplated leaving their present organization to enlist in the regular army. That tendency I wished to arrest as far as practicable.

"Now, I have supposed that our militia, under control of the national government,

of course, would be utilized to man our own coast defenses, and I have never believed the national government would call upon them to go elsewhere, but supposed men from the inland States, that have no coast to defend, would be called on for distant service. And, assuming that our own men are to stay right here for home service, I have tried to keep their organization intact in order that we may get the best possible service from them. Now, in all this there is no antagonism to the national government, for I have not yet received an order from that direction. When it comes it will be obeyed, if it calls for only a portion of the militia, or for every man in it."

On the night of the 27th the governor received the long-expected letter from the Secretary of War, giving the quota of Massachusetts for the national troops, four

regiments of infantry and three batteries of artillery, to serve for two years unless sooner discharged. He acknowledged the letter by a telegram: "Massachusetts will respond with the utmost promptitude and patriotism to the request."

On the 29th, the governor issued his call for state troops, designating the Second, Ninth, Eighth, and Sixth regiments of infantry of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, giving to the officers and men of those regiments the first opportunity to volunteer for the national service. He thus preserved the integrity of the regiments, and filled the places of the men who were unable to volunteer with recruits, giving the preference to those who had some military training. The proclamation closed with the words: —

"I enjoin upon all officers and enlisted men the paramount duty of securing and

maintaining in the volunteer force and in the state militia the highest military efficiency and the best citizenship. To this end all other considerations should be rigidly subordinated.

"In both services alike there will be abundant opportunity for the display of that finer type of patriotism which not only dares and endures, but subordinates selfish interests and ambitions in a great cause.

"May God save and bless the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the greater nation of which it is a part."

In his boyhood Roger Wolcott had heard at home the earnest talk of his parents about the work of the Sanitary Commission, of which his father was the treasurer. It was natural that as soon as the first steps toward military equipment and service had been taken he should prepare

for the effects of war, — the sick and wounded soldiers. On April 30 he sent out an invitation to a number of citizens to meet at the council chamber to "form at once a soldiers' relief organization with purposes similar to those of the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War." It was the first action of the kind taken in the country. On May 3 the Massachusetts Volunteer Aid Association was organized, and the next day it was at work.

One by one the regiments went into camp at Framingham, the Second on May 3, the Ninth on May 4, the Eighth on May 5, and the Sixth on May 6, and were mustered into the United States Volunteer Army. Their equipment was complete, — tents, ovens, medical stores, uniforms, guns, working suits, rubber blankets, and everything else required for service at the

front. In order that the coast might have some defense and that the nervousness of the people might be relieved, detachments of the militia were sent, with the approval of the authorities at Washington and New York, to various points along the coast to camp for eight days, covering twenty-four days in all, preceding the arrival of the United States Volunteer troops. The Signal Corps established and maintained stations from Plum Island to the State House.

On May 11 came a message from the Secretary of War, asking how soon the governor could send a regiment to New York to be sent on a transport to Tampa. The answer was, "The Second Regiment of Infantry waits orders."

The order came for the regiment to start the next day. On that day the governor went to the camp at Framingham.

The regiment formed in a hollow square and stood at attention. Memories of his boyhood, of the camp at Readville, and of his farewell to his brother, must have shot through his mind. He lifted his hat and with a voice strong but full of emotion, said: —

"Colonel Clark, officers and men: You are now about to leave the Commonwealth of your birth to endure hardship and peril in a righteous war waged for the promotion of humanity and to uplift an oppressed people from the domination of a cruel and corrupt power.

"The Commonwealth of Massachusetts through me, their official representative at this time, bids you godspeed. Our hopes, yes, our high confidence, go with you, men of Massachusetts. We feel sure that as you carry the stars and stripes of the United States and the pure white flag of

GOVERNOR WOLCOTT GIVING TO THE NINTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT ITS COMMISSIONS FOR THE U. S. SERVICE, MAY 14, 1898

Massachusetts you will so bear yourselves that no stain of dishonor shall rest on these colors which to-day are committed to your keeping.

"Keep a brave heart and a clean body. Remember that a part of the glory of Massachusetts is committed to you. Be obedient, courageous, and temperate at all times.

"May the God of our fathers hold you in his keeping and bring you glory and honor and peace."

In the next few days he reviewed the other regiments, and in touching and eloquent words spoke to each.

To the Sixth, which is a Middlesex regiment, he said: —

"You are the direct heirs of the men who stood at the bridge at Concord and fired the shot heard round the world. You are the heirs of the men whose blood

stained the mob-cursed streets of Baltimore, — a city to-day, thank God! ready to greet a Massachusetts regiment with the full-hearted loyalty of a reunited nation.

"Men of the Sixth, thus the memory of those and other great days in the history of the nation will travel with you wherever you go, and whether stationed to protect the national capitol, which symbolizes the dignity of the republic, or whether summoned to some other post of duty and danger, may every northern breeze bring you the whispers of the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts, bidding you to quit you like men and be strong."

As the Sixth Regiment entered Baltimore a few days later, they were formally welcomed by the mayor, and as they marched through the city by the same route which the old Sixth took in 1861, they were given a great ovation by all

the citizens. It was the first act of the Spanish War which, followed by many others, strengthened the unity of the nation.

On the 25th of May the President issued a call for 75,000 more volunteers, and the governor was notified by the Secretary of War that the share of Massachusetts was 3041. His response was, "The number will be furnished on receiving detailed instructions."

On the 15th of July the governor gave commissions to the officers of the Fifth Regiment and presented colors to the regiment.

Throughout that exceptionally hot summer, the governor was at his office all day and often well into the night, organizing, directing, conferring, meeting the parents or friends of those who were reported sick, wounded, or dead; clearing his desk of its

heavy load of letters, and responding to every appeal for counsel or sympathy.

He followed with intense interest the movements of each of the regiments, and, as far as he knew them, of the individual soldiers and sailors of Massachusetts.

The Second Regiment, arriving at Tampa, Fla., was the first infantry regiment to report in a United States camp. It was also the first volunteer regiment to land in Cuba. It participated in the engagement at Siboney, was on the firing line at El Caney and San Juan, suffering in killed and wounded, and was intrenched before Santiago at the time of the surrender.

The Sixth was ordered to Cuba, but did not disembark there. Ordered to Porto Rico, it was engaged with the enemy, and in October returned to Boston by transport.

The Eighth went into camp at Chickamauga. Suffering severely from illness there, it was moved into camp at Lexington, Ky., and Americus, Ga., gaining wherever it went an excellent name for discipline and equipment. It went later to Cuba to reduce the district of Matanzas to order.

The Ninth, stationed at Camp Alger, Va., was ordered to Cuba, and was eighteen days in the trenches, suffering severely from sickness.

The Fifth, which was the only Massachusetts regiment to have time to "harden" for service, went into camp in South Carolina, and showed itself to be of the very best material and discipline.

The First Regiment of Heavy Artillery did excellent service in manning the coast defenses of Massachusetts throughout the summer.

The naval brigade, made up of eight divisions, was detailed on various duties. One detachment, ordered to Brooklyn, N. Y., was the first naval volunteer organization in the country to report for duty. Details of the brigade served upon the United States Ship Prairie on the coast defense fleet, and later in blockade duty on the southern coast of Cuba; also upon the monitors and other vessels for coast defense. Details also responded to the calls of the government in other lines of service.

The promptness in response to call and the excellent equipment of the Massachusetts troops led the War Department to turn to them for service at the front. Hence Massachusetts had a larger proportion of her troops in Cuba and Porto Rico than any other State in the Union.

With the victory at Santiago and the

close of the war came the return of the soldiers. The country had already been aroused at what seemed to be gross inefficiency in the War Department in caring for the health and comfort of the men. Added to this were the inexperience of many officers and the indifference of others to camp discipline and sanitary conditions. These features, combined with the fact that Northern men, unacclimated, were under a torrid sun and in malarial districts, resulted in an appalling sick list, crowded hospitals, and many deaths.

The Second and Ninth regiments, whose ranks had been thinned by hard service, were sent back from Cuba to the camp at Montauk Point in filthy transports, arriving, as the governor telegraphed Secretary Alger, in a "pitiable condition." In the organization of the Volunteer Aid Society,

through his military staff, and by the volunteer work of civilians like Sherman Hoar, who laid down his life in that noble service, the governor had done everything in his power to anticipate the sickness and sufferings of war.

A steamship was bought by the Volunteer Aid Society, and, having been renamed "The Bay State," was fitted up with every appliance for transport hospital service. Though intended especially for the aid of Massachusetts soldiers, she was always at the service of any troops needing her. She plied from port to port, bringing home sick soldiers, carrying food for invalids, and medical supplies; and apart from her immediate service, gave the nation an object lesson as to what could be done by the volunteer work of patriotic citizens aided by the best medical skill.

At a dinner of the Republican Club in October, 1898, the governor, after referring to the fear of attack on the part of the people along the seacoast, said: —

"It was five o'clock on the afternoon of April 27 that the first definite orders regarding the quota of this Commonwealth were received by me at the State House. It was a call for four regiments of infantry and three heavy batteries, and it was stated that, in providing this quota, the preference was to be given to the National Guard or the Militia, as we are in the habit of calling it in this Commonwealth, and that the several commands as organized would be accepted in filling the quota. The next morning, the four infantry regiments were designated in general order of seniority, — the Second, the Ninth, the Eighth, and the Sixth. The next day the First Heavy Artillery Regiment was ac-

cepted as a unit, instead of the three batteries of heavy artillery called for in the original quota. On April 29, two days after the first knowledge of what the Massachusetts quota was to be, orders were issued for these four infantry regiments to go to camp at Framingham on the four consecutive days beginning with May 2, and that was done. Within five days of the call, Massachusetts regiments were in camps equipped with tentage, guns, — not, to be sure, provided with smokeless powder, but the best and most recent Springfield rifle that the government at that time could furnish.

"These regiments remained, as you are aware, at Framingham for a period not made necessary by their lack of preparation, but made necessary by the fact that arrangements at Washington had not advanced sufficiently far for definite orders

to be issued as to their new places of assembly; but on May 13 the gallant Second Regiment left for Florida, to be followed on the 16th by the Eighth to Chickamauga, on the 20th by the Sixth to Camp Alger, and on the 31st by the Ninth, also to Camp Alger. I wish I could say what is in my heart about these regiments. They were made up of the young men of Massachusetts, brave, earnest, loyal to the government, ready to sacrifice their lives if need be at the call of duty, and they have made a record that will forever remain an honorable record in the annals of this Commonwealth.

"Your president has spoken of the degree of preparation and equipment with which those regiments were placed in the field. Testimony to the superiority of Massachusetts troops comes not alone from Massachusetts men. It has come to my

knowledge and to my ears from men from other States, from officers in the regular army, and from newspaper correspondents and others in position to judge. . . .

"The service of these Massachusetts regiments is known to you. You know the perils, the dangers, the hardships, the disease they have been called upon to meet. I can assure you that the spirit that sent them forth is still strong and fresh in the hearts of those who have returned.

"It may interest you to know how many troops Massachusetts has furnished in this war. I give figures that are as accurate as they can be made up to the present time. . . . Under the first and second call Massachusetts furnished 6988 men and in the signal corps and regulars about 1500 more, making a total of 8500. In the naval brigade about 600, and in the navy and

marine corps about 2000, bringing the total in the army and navy up to 11,000.[1] Out of the sum of $500,000 placed in my hands for expenditure at my discretion, the sum of $307,000 has already been paid out, chiefly for arms, equipment, pay allowance, subsistence, and clothing. The legislature of Massachusetts, with wise generosity, provided that for all soldiers of Massachusetts, whether enlisting in the volunteer service of the United States or in the regular service, whether on land or afloat, the Commonwealth would supplement the payment made by the United States government by a monthly payment of seven dollars. Under this generous policy, over $210,000 has already been paid from the treasury of the Common-

[1] Report of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, 1898: Call of the Government, 7388 men; number furnished, 11,780.

wealth. Not only that, but it provided that upon the death of a soldier, this monthly payment of seven dollars should be continued after his decease. The Commonwealth has also made provisions for hospital treatment for all soldiers of the Commonwealth in whatever hospitals they may have been received, and in cases where the condition of the family is such as to make it necessary, it aids also in the final solemn rites of burial.

"Your president has referred in brief to a part of the work of the Volunteer Aid Association. . . . Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been placed in the treasury of that association, without personal solicitation, coming from the rich out of their plenty, coming from those of moderate means, where a gift of this nature meant the depriving themselves of some comfort or luxury, and coming also, thank

God for it, from the very poor. There have been the most touching stories told of how people rose up to furnish this assistance to the soldiers and sailors of this war. A stevedore comes into the office with his hand full of one dollar bills, and says: 'Those have been collected from the 'longshoremen on our wharves.' He does n't ask for a receipt. He simply says, 'That is for the soldiers.' Factory girls, laborers, school children, everybody, seemed desirous of aiding in some way and up to their means. In nearly every city and town branch associations have been organized. They have received the soldiers upon their return; they have looked after them; they have looked after their families; they have carried on an immense correspondence when the families, through ignorance of the whereabouts of their loved ones, were unable to do so;

and in this way, stretching out their hands and grasping the hands of men and women of like spirit with themselves, they built up a strong association that has been fruitful of good, and on which, in my humble opinion, the blessings of God have abundantly rested."

Excellent as is this statement, and honorable as is the record, the governor necessarily omitted one of the finest elements in the history — in fact he was unconscious of it — the confidence, enthusiasm, and loyalty kindled by the personality of the governor himself. There was that about him which defies analysis, which eludes definition, but which is found in those rare characters, who, like Philip Sydney, Chevalier Bayard, or Robert Louis Stevenson, gain our confidence, win our admiration, kindle our affection, and who, in their unconsciousness, make us

conscious that we are in chivalric company.

Roger Wolcott was a practical New Englander with a dash of idealism, without which no New England character is complete. From boyhood he gained the affection of all sorts of people. He drank deep, in poems, history, and the Bible, of chivalric life. In form and countenance, in presence and atmosphere, he was of nature's noblest.

When, then, a transport loaded with returning soldiers steamed slowly up the harbor, and when the men, sick and wasted with disease, caught sight of the governor, or in their cots between decks heard his voice, it was as if they had in one moment been carried into the very heart of New England, to health and home.

Was a returning regiment expected by rail? The governor would take train to

Springfield and be among the first to welcome the men. He led the cheers, and in person directed how everything should be done for their comfort. A message from the lower harbor that the Bay State, Vigilant, or Olivette was signaled, prompted him to drop official business and in all haste reach the dock or take the tug to meet the men, tenderly care for the sick, place them in ambulances, or assist them to their homes.

At the hospitals he visited them. In the wan faces and wasted forms his sympathies saw again his brother Huntington lying upon his bed at Milton, sinking into rest. His natural reserve was broken through, his voice became tender, and he told them the story of his boyhood sorrow. Then, as one and another soldier died, he sent to those in the home messages weighted with sympathy. Anxious parents

and friends followed him to his home at Blue Hill. There they received his hospitality and hopeful word. They all spoke of him as "our Governor;" they sought him, however, for himself. His solicitude ran out to every soldier. Men from Maine and New Hampshire, passing through Boston, experienced his kindness. "Extend the same treatment to the regulars," was his message to those who were caring for Massachusetts soldiers.

Thus was Roger Wolcott bound by ties of affection and sympathy to thousands of men, women, and children throughout the State. His friends saw that he was working hard; citizens knew that he was administering the high office in trying times with ability and devotion; the people were feeling the touch of his sympathetic heart.

The fourteenth of October, 1899, marked the closing incident of the war.

It was a brilliant day. The population from all parts of the State had poured into Boston, for it was the day on which the Commonwealth and the city gave their welcome to Admiral Dewey, the hero of Manila. The morning was given up to the procession. The whole state militia was in line. Later the officers and sailors of the flagship Olympia led the column through the gates of the Common to the parade ground. The governor took his position on the slope of the hill just below the soldiers' and sailors' monument. Two hundred trumpeters gave the call to colors, and seventeen sergeants with their colors stood before the governor. The commanding officers took their positions in front; and one by one the officers turned the colors over to the governor, who, in accepting them, said: —

"On behalf of the Commonwealth of

Massachusetts and in her name, I receive into her perpetual custody these flags borne by Massachusetts men in a righteous and triumphant cause, and emblematic of the power of the nation and of the fortitude and valor of her sons.

"Worn with service on land and afloat, in camp, in garrison, and in battle, their lustre is undimmed and their radiance untarnished. In the presence of our honored and illustrious guest and of the military organizations which cherished and guarded them, with popular acclaim, and to the strains of martial music, they are returned with fitting honors to the Commonwealth which a few short months ago sent forth their defenders with prayers and tears, and which, alas! proudly mourns many of her sons who return not with them.

"To officers and enlisted men she now publicly and gratefully acknowledges her

obligation for the courage and fortitude which have added to her historic fame, and have borne witness that the memories of '76, of 1812, and of 1861, have not been unheeded by her children. Like their sires, the loyal and generous youth of 1898 showed themselves quick to hear the summons to duty and danger, and ready to suffer and to die if need be, wheresoever that summons might lead them.

"The gain will be worth the sacrifice. To have banished oppression, and to have opened the way to health and order and justice among communities which for centuries have felt the iron heel of despotism, will be the justification of history and the praise of future time.

"So long as a single thread of their silken fabric resists the slow ravages of time, these banners shall be jealously and reverently guarded by the Commonwealth,

together with the precious memorials of an earlier and more stubborn conflict, mutely but eloquently to teach their lesson of patriotism and loyalty, and to breathe their inspiration to the generations that are to come after us."

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST YEAR

FOR ten years Roger Wolcott had served the Commonwealth: three years as representative, three as lieutenant-governor, one as lieutenant-governor and acting governor, and three as governor. He had brought to each position high character, ability, and devotion; he had grown steadily in force, wisdom, and statesmanship; he had gained the affection as well as the confidence of the people of the Commonwealth, and his name was held in respect at Washington, and in many other parts of the country. His own wishes coincided with the traditions

of the State, that he should lay down his office of governor at the end of three years.

Seven continuous years of such conscientious and efficient service as he had given draw upon the vitality, and tend to age a man. On the last day of public duty, Mr. Wolcott left his home on Commonwealth Avenue, and walked to the State House with the same elastic step that was his at the first. The body was erect, the smile and bow were as bright and cordial as ever; the hair was white, but that was an inheritance; the color of his face was bright and fresh. It was clear, however, to those who were near him, that he needed a change, and he himself was anxious to break away from associations which had been happy, but which reminded him only of work. His children, too, had grown up during his public life,

and although he was a devoted father in the busiest days, he wanted to know them better, and to have some months of complete companionship with them and his wife, who had been a strong support to him in his public duties as well as in the home. He anticipated, with the zest of a boy before the holidays, a trip with his family in Europe.

Mr. Wolcott was a man of domestic tastes and social temperament. To those who knew him intimately, his public life was the incidental expression of his character, laid upon him by the people, and entered on by him from a sense of duty, public spirit, and the laudable ambition to make himself felt for the good of others. The centre of his life was his home, and not the State House: the chair that best suited him was not in the executive chamber, but in the circle of his nearest friends.

Like his father, he made his home in Boston, and at Blue Hill, Milton. In each place he built a house for himself, near enough to his parents to be in and out through the day. Until the death of his mother in 1899, his devotion to her was constant beyond measure. Simple, almost severe in his tastes, he desired comfort, but not luxury. He was careful in expenditure, exact in all money matters; realizing like a true Yankee the value of money, and desiring to give to his children an example in judicious living. As soon as he could escape from work, he sought his wife and children. At Blue Hill, it was his delight to explore the by-roads, drop in on the neighbors, and greet his fellow-townsmen. "A decently constituted man goes back to nature as iron to a magnet," he used to say. In all the interests of the community he was interested, the church,

the school, the roads, and town improvements. When an evening was free in Boston, it was given to his home or to the company of his nearer friends. He believed in the abiding influence of the home. He always retained his boyish simplicity, and counted no time lost that was given to the most trivial interest of his children, or to the answering of every question. In their names — Roger, William Prescott, Samuel Huntington, Cornelia Frothingham, and Oliver — he gathered the family associations of past and present, and he delighted to watch the family characteristics revealing themselves. To Mrs. Wolcott he always turned with perfect confidence for sympathy and support. In the first years of marriage, a sorrow had crossed their life in the death of the first son, Huntington Frothingham.

Among his friends, he was at fifty what

he was at twenty, simple, frank, alert, bright, full of wit and story, or serious in conversation. His force and purity of character created an atmosphere in whatever company he entered. His presence never suppressed fun or light talk, and the gayest welcomed his coming; the tone, however, was always pure, elevated, and refined. He never lost the reserve of his youth: very few, perhaps none, of his friends ever felt that they reached his inmost self. He knew it and regretted it; but the reserve was something born with him, and no doubt it gave him an advantage in some public associations.

He was sensitive to the feelings and prejudices of others, and to the conditions about him. It was this that gave him the tact to extricate himself from difficult situations, and to say the right thing at the right time in his public speeches. He

never said of a man behind his back what he would not say to his face; and before he criticised or condemned a man, was always sure of his facts.

He believed in frankness in public as well as private life. When the Republican party was hesitating as to its position on the question of gold and silver, he said, at a dinner in honor of ex-Governor Boutwell's eightieth birthday: —

"I believe, further, speaking as a Republican to Republicans, that it would be well-nigh fatal to the Republican party to go into the next Congressional election without having shown that it, at all events, whether it succeeds or not, is placed without question in the line of aggressive honesty in legislation.

"I believe and have always believed, whether temporary defeat or partial lack of success comes or not that, on a question

of that nature, an appeal to the educated and intelligent honesty of the people of the United States is absolutely sure to result in victory in the long run. There is honesty abroad through the land, my friends, just exactly as there is heroism among the people of the United States."

He had a large share of the Puritan conscience, which drove him, but drove him happily and by his own consent, from duty to duty throughout the day. Even pleasure, friendly talk, and "loafing" had to him their uses in enabling him to do better work the next day. Such a reasonable conscience creates, perhaps, the most healthy, happy, and useful manhood.

He left his home in the morning earlier than most of his busy friends, and, after a brisk walk, greeting his neighbors, the cabmen, school children, policemen, and other citizens as he passed up the avenue,

through the Public Garden, and by the Common, was at his desk and well into his mail before nine o'clock. The list of his public duties in his early manhood reveals the industrious nature of the man. Whether in office or out, he worked up to the limit of his strength; he too often worked beyond it. Strong and vigorous as he looked, his physique was too fine and nervous to stand great strain, and four attacks of pneumonia during manhood gave him warning that there was a limit to his endurance.

From his earliest childhood, religion was an element in the daily life of the home. His parents were devout Unitarians. Every morning was opened with family prayer, at which parents, boys, and guests read in order the verses of a chapter of the Bible. Then all joined in the Lord's Prayer. On Sunday the piano was

closed, and everybody went morning and afternoon to church. Strict as were the religious habits of the household, there were such parental influence and loving guidance as to win the sympathy of the boys. To Roger Wolcott religion was a natural and essential element of life. His faith was simple. He had little interest in dogma or the differences of theologies. He did, however, have a profound belief in the teachings of the Christian faith as he understood them. He had no sympathy with the idea that faith and the church were matters of taste or convenience. To him the Christian Church, representing the Christian faith, was essential to the welfare of society and to the upbuilding of men's characters. He believed in the church and in public worship. He was a communicant. Every Sunday he went with his family to service at King's Chapel

in Boston or in the Unitarian Church at Milton, and every month received the communion.

His addresses at the annual festivals of the Unitarian Association were always keenly anticipated, and they reveal something of his religious attitude.

Called upon to welcome the clergy in behalf of the laity in 1889, he said: —

"Sweep away, if you must, literal faith in the Old or the New Testament, belief in the miracles, or whatever else science or scholarship shall undermine; but remember always that the life and teachings of Christ are the noblest, the most sacred facts within the knowledge of man, and are to be approached, never with flippancy or sensationalism, but with the bowed knee of reverence and faith."

Again, in 1893, he said: "Flippancy in the pulpit and that futile straining after

effect which aims to make the messenger of greater import than the message, are to me abhorrent. The congregation demands of its minister sincerity of life and consecration and reverence of spirit. If these be lacking, brilliancy of intellect, eloquence, learning, will never possess the lunar force which heaps up the billows and draws the tides."

He said in 1897: "And so we recognize that our religion rests not on dogma or creed. We recognize that true religion is a fair blossom that blooms in the heart of him who strives to pattern his life on the teachings and on the life of Jesus Christ. We recognize all who strive humbly to follow in his footsteps. We do not limit the title of 'Christian' to one profession or to another. We recognize all good men of every profession. We know that as good a Christian as stands in a

pulpit or sits in the pew visits, as the loving physician, the bed of suffering. We know that he who strives in the court of justice to lay down the rules of everlasting right that shall regulate the conduct of man and man, that the citizen who gives loyal service to the State, that all men inspired with like purpose, are good Christians."

The bond between himself and Harvard University was one of the strong and happy influences of his life. His college career, his oration, and his services as instructor and overseer are already familiar to us.

He always felt it a privilege to respond to the call of the University. Was it to welcome the Freshmen in Sanders Theatre on the first Monday evening of the term? He seized the opportunity to preach his gospel of the college life as a preparation

for the service of the State. Did he preside at a Harvard-Yale debate? By his tact he kindled the best of feeling and softened the disappointment of defeat. Even in one of the great football games, he with Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, stood before the thousands of students and graduates and led their cheers and songs.

When the class of '70 celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary in 1895, Roger Wolcott was of course chief marshal. Every graduate who was there remembers the ardor with which, mounted on a chair in the yard near Massachusetts Hall, he called off the classes in their order, and with what enthusiasm his ringing voice led the cheers at the dinner in Memorial Hall. It was one of the happiest days of his life, for his position and popularity were a recognition from those by whom he was

best known and whose judgment he most esteemed.

For four successive Commencements he represented the Commonwealth. Escorted from Boston, according to ancient custom, by the Lancers with their brilliant uniforms, he entered the college gate amid the applause of the graduates. In the theatre, during the procession to Memorial Hall, and at the dinner, he was always sure of cordial greetings.

Behind his official words was always the tender tone of a son receiving the welcome of his alma mater. Upon receiving his first welcome as the representative of the Commonwealth in 1896 he said: —

"It has always seemed to me that, should it ever fall to me to receive words of commendation at this feast, I should prefer to receive them for something done in the public service, that makes to-day

the strongest demand on the educated man. I would not obscure the services of the quiet scholar and teacher, the physician, the lawyer, the scientist: I mean something a little different. All of this service can be rendered, and is rendered, in every country and under every form of government, but what I wish to emphasize is that the government of America makes further demands upon citizenship, demands that I see answered by the men here.

"I need not speak of the service done by lawyers and business men. To the college man there must be impossible the spirit of snobbishness. Leave that to the merely rich. In him there must be no chilling of enthusiasm, no enfeebled patriotism. The education that Harvard gives must arouse enthusiasm, kindle ardor, add truer flames to the altar of patriotism.

"The graduates of Harvard are rendering this exalted service all over the land. Do not mistake that I refer to those in office simply. It is the spirit, not the office, by which this college would show her graduates to be true to the highest lessons of her past."

His last official message to the university in 1899 was characteristic in style and thought: —

"This stately and historic Commonwealth comes here and greets the gracious and benign figure of the University whom we, her sons, love to reverence and honor as our alma mater. The 'cloth of gold' is made up of the woven tapestry which represents the history of the Commonwealth and the University. It is red with the deep crimson of manhood; it is white with the clear color of a pure life and high endeavor. And here and there, every-

where shot through the fabric, are the golden threads that tell of the few happy lives that have attained distinction and are remembered as the years pass by.

"In that great ode, which seems to add something of even greater consecration to this hall, already made sacred by the lives it commemorated, Lowell spoke of the white shields of expectation hung upon the arms of generous youth and catching the rays of morn. Upon these walls hang not only the white shields of expectation, but also the dinted, but unsullied shields of high attainment and noble achievement.

"If we allow the imagination to travel beyond the mystery of death, we may believe that here are assembled to-day not only the living sons of the Commonwealth and of the University, but also those knightly spirits who, in the past, have won the golden spur of noble manhood, and of

generous service to Commonwealth and to University.

"If the sphinx of the coming days reclines silent and without utterance, with no prophetic Œdipus to read the riddles of the future that lie within her closed lips, nevertheless may Commonwealth and University alike face the problems of the future, whatever they may be, not with despair, nor with despondency, nor with fear, but with the high and lofty courage which is born of conscious strength."

On the next day, however, he spoke not for the Commonwealth, but for himself. It was at the Phi Beta Kappa dinner. Both orator and poet had touched upon national questions, and had expressed in somewhat pessimistic tones the outlook for the future. Roger Wolcott was by temperament and conviction an optimist. Intelligent and timely criticism he respected; but the

critical attitude which seeks faults rather than virtues offended him. Only a week before, at Holy Cross College, he had spoken from his own experience: —

"If I have learned nothing else since I have held office, I have learned to believe in the American people. I have learned to believe that virtue is more common than vice; that noble manhood and womanhood have not died out from us. I believe God has made a law of progress, not a law of retrogression, and I urge you, young men, not to give way to pessimism. Be courageous, be hopeful. Believe in the destiny of America; believe in the purpose of Almighty God; believe with all hope in the future."

When Mr. Wolcott was called upon to speak, it was evident that his deepest convictions of patriotism and hope had been touched and fired. He had a temper of

which he had had the mastery for many years; it did not master him now. He gave his convictions, however, freedom of utterance, and spoke with warmth and power. He presented the nation in her nobler features, and appealed for a deeper loyalty to her chosen leaders. The sunlight, pouring through the windows, was blinding some of those at the upper table: a student, throwing off his college gown, had pinned it across the sash to shut out the light. In the full flood of his speech, appealing to the courage and loyalty of educated men, Mr. Wolcott caught the allegory, and pointing to the window, said, "Do not let the academic gown (absit omen) shut out the sunlight." As he started to leave the hall, the whole assembly rose and cheered enthusiastically. Little they realized that they were giving him his last farewell from Harvard.

He had spoken his message in word and in life. Amidst the generous applause of Harvard, he passed out of the door of Massachusetts Hall and through the College gate.

While Mr. Wolcott was planning his trip to Europe, his friends and a great body of citizens were questioning how the nation could make use of such an efficient servant.

It is one of the glories of our democracy, and at the same time one of its misfortunes, that after a man has held high office he returns to private citizenship. Unless there happens to come some change in the movement of political life and offices, the State or the nation may lose the benefit of such a man's large experience, high character, and public service.

It was well known that Mr. Wolcott had the laudable ambition to serve the

nation when he could do so consistently with other duties. In fact, the one compelling motive of his life was that of public service. He never sought an office, but when an office came to him, he accepted it with a sense of pleasure and gratification as an opportunity to use his powers in congenial work, and in the service of his country.

For the present he was happy in his freedom. He was conscious that he had done his work well, and that the people were grateful to him and trusted him. The future could take care of itself. A dinner given him by a number of his old friends, who were also representative citizens, was a pleasant token to him of appreciation by those in whose confidence and affection he took delight. Congratulations through the press and by letter continued to come to him.

Five weeks after his retirement, Presi-

dent McKinley offered him an honorable though arduous position upon the Philippine Commission, which was to have authority to organize civil government throughout that great archipelago. The work of the commission interested him deeply, and the great opportunity for serving his fellow-men appealed to him, but his duty to his family compelled him to decline. Citizens continued to seize him for public functions. He presided at a public meeting to prepare for the reception by Harvard University of 1400 Cuban teachers. He presided also at a great dinner of the National Association of Manufacturers, at which several members of the President's cabinet were present, and spoke upon the future relations of the nation to the Philippines: —

"If our aim shall be only to see how much we can get out of these new posses-

sions by extortion, trickery, or corruption, then will our occupancy of them be a curse to their inhabitants, and a shame to us and our children. If our purpose shall be to lift them to a higher civilization, to give them education, honest administration, peace and industrial prosperity, with an ever-increasing degree of self-government, then will these years of the nineteenth century add one other lustrous page to our national story.

"It is not given to man to see with certainty into the future, but unless I mistake the character and purposes of my countrymen, they will meet this new crisis and these novel responsibilities as they have met every other great crisis in our history, with seriousness of judgment, right purpose, intelligence, and courage; and the day will come in the not distant future when these backward peoples shall grate-

fully concede that the great republic of the west is not only powerful and just, but generous and beneficent as well."

Early in May he, with his family, sailed for Europe. Visiting Paris and the Exposition, to which Mrs. Wolcott, representing the department of charities and correction, was a delegate from the national government, and from the city of Boston, they passed on to Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. Returning by way of England, they arrived home on November 4, in time for Mr. Wolcott, after making a campaign speech the next evening at Quincy, to vote, on November 6, for President McKinley and for his friend and co-worker, Governor Crane, and for the Republican party, of which he was a presidential elector.

While he was in Europe, Mr. Wolcott received from the President an appoint-

ment to be ambassador to Italy. This was welcomed with hearty commendation by the press throughout the country. With his boys at school and in college, he did not feel at liberty to separate himself from them: for the present, home was his place, and he declined the mission.

The city of Washington was preparing for the centennial celebration of the national capital, on December 9. The governors of the States and the national officials were to be there. Mr. Wolcott had been selected as one of the four speakers.

On the sixteenth of November he was taken ill. Symptoms of typhoid fever, which thirty-five years ago had laid his brother low, appeared. His good constitution, temperate life, and all other conditions, seemed to point towards a favorable result. The disease steadily increased its hold, the strength yielded, life ebbed out.

On December 21, before the people realized the danger, Roger Wolcott fell asleep.

For the moment the Commonwealth seemed to stand still. It was in the afternoon. The sun dropped to its setting. The news spread fast, faster than the press could carry it. Word went from city to town, from town to village. The mill-hand, leaving work with his dinner-pail in hand, stopped as he heard the news, and then passed on to tell his fellows of the kind word once spoken to him by the governor. The children in the homes sorrowed as they recalled his bright greeting to them when he passed through the town. The veterans of two wars, citizens of both parties and of all creeds, mourned as for the loss of one of the household. "Our governor is gone," they said one to another.

It was a time when the depths of senti-

ment are touched. He had been a faithful servant of the State, a wise administrator, a just officer, and a strong leader. He had upheld in political life the banner of purity and honor. He had done his work well. The people loved him, however, not so much for what he had done, as for what he was. He was a true man, transparent, faithful, and chivalric. Moral force and spiritual light transfigured his life and countenance and made them beautiful and radiant. He had entered into the hearts of the people and dwelt there.

Christmas-eve was a day of mourning in Massachusetts. Noontime, the day before Christmas, is usually the busiest hour for shops in the year. At that hour the shops were closed and silent. Trinity Church, which had been offered for the funeral services, was filled with a representative and sorrowing company. Crowds

pressed about the doors. Details of military organizations were present on duty, but there was no military pomp. All was as simple and sincere as the character of him who lay in the choir of the church. His two pastors of King's Chapel, Boston, and the Unitarian Church at Milton, read the service, and the body was borne forth.

Huntington's mother had written him in 1865: "After the war is over, we shall need wise men, pure patriots in the councils of the country, and high-minded gentlemen, men of large culture, refinement of taste, Christian integrity, and virtue, more than the soldier."

From the dying breath of Huntington, Roger caught the life of patriotism and service. His brother's image went with him day by day, and gave him inspiration. The body of Roger was laid at rest beside that of his brother: fit types of Massachu-

setts in these two generations — a soldier who in war and bloody strife gave his life to save his country; a citizen who, no less chivalrous, gave himself to upbuild his country in unity, peace, and righteousness.

In a noble memorial service citizens of the Commonwealth, officials of the nation and State, representatives of the religious, military and patriotic societies, and members of the chief musical associations of Boston joined in a noble service in his memory. The governor of the Commonwealth presided, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was the orator. The mass of people, the prayer, oration, and requiem, gave eloquent and touching expression to the uplifting power of his character.

Knowing that the people wished to erect some memorial, a committee of citizens offered to receive gifts. Without solicita-

tion and without the mention of the amount of any gifts, offerings poured in.

From fifty newsboys of Park Street corner, who lined up every Sunday morning to salute the governor as with his family he passed them on his way to church, came fifty contributions. Hotel bell-boys, policemen, classmates, cab-drivers, shop-girls, business men, mill-hands, veterans, associations of all kinds, militia regiments, men and women, boys and girls of every station in life, from all parts of the State and nation, from Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and foreign countries, sent in their gifts.

When over ten thousand persons and organizations, representing from fifteen to twenty thousand individuals, had given offerings amounting to over forty thousand dollars within ninety days, the committee asked that no more be sent.

Thus, by the grateful and spontaneous gift of many thousands of men, women, and children, a statue of Roger Wolcott will speak, to all who pass, of one who in public office as in private station was pure, chivalrous, and true.

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